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IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 73

EDITORIALS
- The President's Messages 76
- Good Neighbor Daydreams 77
- Transit Workers' Rights 77
- Russia's Great Offensive *by Freda Kirchwey* 78

ARTICLES
- F. D. R. and Production *by I. F. Stone* 80
- Russia and the West *by Reinhold Niebuhr* 82
- Britain Is Not Amused *by Tom Wintringham* 84
- Harlem at War *by Charles Williams* 86
- "Suffer Little Children" *by Herta Pauli* 88
- In the Wind 90

POLITICAL WAR *edited by J. Alvarez del Vayo*
- Wanted: A Political Strategy for Asia *by Lin Yutang* 91
- Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 94
- File and Remember 95

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
- Mr. Straight Faces the Future *by Louis Fischer* 96
- Deep Waters *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 97
- Russia at War *by John Scott* 98
- The Poet, the Poem, the Reader *by H. P. Lazarus* 98
- When Giants Meet *by Ralph Bates* 101
- Steig's Gallery *by Clement Greenberg* 102
- In Brief 103
- Drama: Russian Melodrama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 103
- Music *by B. H. Haggin* 104

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 105

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The Shape of Things

CARLO TRESCA ALWAYS SAID HE WOULD BE killed by an assassin, and indeed he had survived uncounted threats and several actual attempts on his life. His enemies finally got him, and one more stout-hearted anti-fascist leader is gone. In this dimout murder committed not three blocks from *The Nation* office are to be found both omens and warnings. Tresca's death may well serve as a sign that the struggle between reaction and the battalions of freedom has reached that final stage when violence in the field of combat is paralleled by violence in the street and the assassin's bullet. For long years Tresca's valiant fight against the fascist agents of Mussolini was part of a minority struggle in which he found himself ranged against the authorities in this country as well. For Tresca recognized fascism as the enemy of civilization more than twenty years before the government of the United States did, and he spent almost a year of his life in federal prison on a trumped-up charge brought in 1923 at the instigation of Mussolini's ambassador at Washington. Now that his fight has become part of the great conflict to which our country is committed, Tresca's enemies could no longer count on the backing of the government they hated. Tresca was no longer a minority voice. He spoke for the will of America. It is against that will that the assassin struck. The authorities of New York and of the nation may be sure that this *attentat* will not be the last one.

*

SOME OF THE MEN NOW HEAVING PAVING blocks at Edward J. Flynn live in dangerously exposed glass houses, but that does not make his appointment as Minister to Australia and personal representative of the President with ambassadorial rank any less of a blunder. The chief count against Flynn is not his alleged dealings in the small change of political bossism, though suspicion has survived the hearings which technically cleared him. It is rather that he has no qualifications for a diplomatic mission of exceptional delicacy. His claims for preferment are based solely on his command of an important segment of votes in New York State and his personal loyalty to the President. Even the most high-minded of Presidents cannot be oblivious to political debts, but this appointment shows not merely a failure in statesman-

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ship but an error in political tactics. Mr. Roosevelt is going to have trouble enough during the present session holding the New Deal front line; he cannot afford to waste ammunition defending the indefensible.

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THE FIRST FINE RAPTURES OVER THE NORTH African adventure have passed, in painful stages, through restiveness to open dissatisfaction. Joseph S. Evans, Jr., reporting to the New York *Herald Tribune* from London, writes: "Not only does the disquiet make itself evident in virtually every discussion on the progress of the war and in editorials and special articles in the daily press, but today's issues of all the London weeklies carry leading articles expressing that worry in no uncertain terms." No doubt the military slowdown is primarily responsible for the fading of enthusiasm. There is as yet no reason to feel alarmed about the stalemate before Tunis, but with the successful landing operation hopes were pitched high, and the impression was general that the Axis would shortly be expelled from the southern shores of the Mediterranean. The official explanation that the Allied troops are ahead of schedule and forced to wait for the weather to catch up with them is probably sound, but psychologically it is not satisfying. And even from a military standpoint it is obvious that every day General Eisenhower's forces remain bogged down in the mud, the Germans strengthen their hold on the area around Tunis itself. Should Rommel's retreating army effect a juncture with Colonel General von Arnim's forces in Tunisia, the Allied armies will have their work cut out for them to break the enemy's grip on the primary objective of the whole African campaign.

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EVEN SO THERE WOULD PROBABLY BE NO real uneasiness if the picture were not complicated by devious politics and if both military and political news were not clouded by a fantastically inept censorship. The British press, from right to left, is withering in its comments on this aspect of North African affairs, which says the *New Statesman and Nation,* "threatens, unless there be plain speaking and better understanding, to poison Anglo-American relations." Behind this bitterness are the deep-seated suspicions generated by the deal with Darlan and undissipated by his elimination. The assassin's identity is still a rumor-breeding mystery, and so is the round-up of high Algiers police officials vaguely accused of conspiracy against General Giraud, Robert Murphy, and other figures prominent in the present North African arrangement. If these arrested officials were anti-Vichy, perhaps there were many others. Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil, chief civil adviser to General Giraud, thinks there were. What is more, he told a press conference while in this country with the French military mission, "All those who in metropolitan or African France have directly or indirectly collaborated with the Germans are literally hated by the population." That does not sound like the contention of our diplomats that we had to use Darlan because of his hold on the people of North Africa. On the other hand, it does reflect what appears to be a growing antipathy on Giraud's part toward the Imperial Council of ex-collaborationists with whom he is saddled. A spokesman for the General bluntly told the press this week that the combined forces of Giraud and De Gaulle would "throw out all the Vichyites and go after the Germans." Some support for this bright prospect may be read in Giraud's tour of inspection to Tunisia, Morocco, and West Africa, where discussions are reliably reported to have been held with Free French representatives as well as with native rulers. The conversion of this hope into a reality will be worth as much to the United Nations as the eventual capture of Tunis.

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THE WAR HAS COME HOME TO CONSUMERS with a vengeance this past week, and consumers have come through the acid test, by and large, with flying colors. The prohibition of pleasure motoring in the seventeen Eastern states drastically affected the established habits of life of thousands of persons, particularly in the larger cities. And the OPA order cutting the value of home fuel-oil coupons by 10 per cent may cause real discomfort in thousands of American homes. To make matters worse, there were alarming indications that the supply of coal and cooking gas might be seriously depleted before many days in the New York metropolitan area. The local meat and butter shortages continued, and there were reports that despite rationing the supply of coffee might soon be exhausted. The existence of a coffee shortage was promptly denied by Price Administrator Henderson, but the scarcity of the other commodities is very real. These privations and restrictions have, however, been received with a minimum of grumbling. This has been particularly true of the ban on non-essential driving. The severe nature of the action shocked the public, as nothing else has, into a realization of the grim struggle in which we are all involved. Instead of resisting rationing, as many were doing a few weeks ago, most Americans now seem convinced that the OPA has moved too slowly in applying its rationing program. This change in sentiment should greatly facilitate Prentiss Brown's task when he takes over responsibility for rationing and price control from Leon Henderson.

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IF THIS NEW CONGRESS, AS PRESIDENT Roosevelt said, may be the one to make the peace, the Republicans are preparing to make it in the old diehard isolationist way. Two of the leading candidates for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1944, Willkie and Stassen, have tried to open broader vistas for their party.

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but they seem to have had no effect on its leaders. The test of the G. O. P. Senate caucus was whether it would elect Austin of Vermont, an interventionist, or "Puddler Jim" Davis of Pennsylvania to the vacancy on the Foreign Relations Committee. The caucus chose Davis, an isolationist, reactionary, and high-tariff Republican. Roosevelt, like Wilson, may find the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the nucleus of Congressional opposition to American cooperation in maintaining the peace. The Democratic majority on that committee includes enough isolationists to make the President's hold on it precarious. One of the Democrats is Reynolds of North Carolina. That the publisher of the *Vindicator* should be a member of the Foreign Relations Committee must seem another of democracy's pleasant and profitable idiocies to certain gentlemen we need not name.

*

LACK OF SPECTACULAR NEWS FROM INDIA has led many Americans to assume that the political crisis arising from the failure of the Cripps mission and the arrest of Gandhi has been dissipated. But such reports as are available indicate the contrary. Rioting and demonstrations against British rule seem to have subsided; but these overt protests have given way to a sullen bitterness and disillusionment which offer little hope for a constructive settlement. The jails are reported to be fuller today than at the height of the civil-disobedience campaign last fall. Discontent over the political situation has been greatly aggravated by a serious and growing shortage of food. There are inadequate supplies of India's three staples—wheat, rice, and millet. The shortage is most serious in such urban centers as Bombay, New Delhi, and Calcutta. The situation is of increased concern to the United States because of the presence of large numbers of American troops in India. This may have been one consideration, but only one, in the recent appointment by President Roosevelt of William Phillips to be his personal representative in New Delhi. Certainly we need an observer in India, but we can't help wondering why Mr. Roosevelt selected, for this important post, an old-line diplomat who will seem to the Indian leaders to bear a strong family resemblance to the British officials they have known so long.

*

DR. FRANK BUCHMAN, FOUNDER OF MORAL Rearmament, once said that "God is a millionaire." During his great revivals at fashionable Stockbridge a few years ago he numbered among his converts a good many mundane millionaires or their wives, whom he described as "key people." As late as 1936 he thanked heaven "for a man like Adolf Hitler, who built a front line of defense against the anti-Christ of communism." He is a revivalist of the prurient-pious type who told prospective converts that they had a "film of sin" over their eyes and who, for a time at least, carried on his work at house parties devoted to confessions. He would solve all social problems by what he calls "life-changing" and "getting in touch with God." In practice this consists of the discovery, especially by the low-paid, that spiritual wealth is the sole wealth worth sharing. No wonder David Lawrence once suggested that Buchman's group should "mobilize" the country against class warfare. We haven't heard much recently of Dr. Buchman and his efforts to preserve the status quo by offering pie in the sky; but he is apparently still enlisting "key people," this time in an attempt to have his followers deferred from military service on the ground that they are doing essential work in building morale among war-production workers. Various Senators and Representatives have intervened in their behalf, but at least Draft Board No. 4 in New York is not impressed, and one Buchmanite has been ordered to appear for induction. As Charles H. Tuttle, chairman of the board, pointed out, no other religious organization has made such claims or exercised such pressure. He also noted that similar efforts by the Moral Rearmers in England had "met stern rebuke by the British Cabinet and the House of Commons." We imagine war production will do very nicely without the ministrations of Dr. Buchman's Moral Dodgers.

*

WE HATE TO THINK OF WHAT WESTBROOK Pegler went through when he heard that Mrs. Roosevelt had picked up a Private First Class, also M. P., at the Union Station in Washington, walked him familiarly to the White House, and invited him in to take pot luck with the family. To Westbrook it must have seemed just one more move in that nefarious Communist plot which took Mrs. Roosevelt to London and is keeping Pegler awake nights. We can hardly wait to see what he makes of Mrs. Roosevelt's attempt to draw the military into her camp. As for ourselves, in spite of having read the "Eighteenth Brumaire," Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution," and a good many instalments of Fair Enough, we're still so naive that we really believe it was the spontaneous and charming action of a woman who can't help being natural even though she's the First Lady. We admit, however, that Private First Class Harold R. Crisman would probably vote for Mrs. Roosevelt if he ever got a chance.

*

"BORN OF SLAVE PARENTS ON A FARM NEAR Diamond Grove, Mo. . . . ; in infancy lost his father and was stolen and carried into Arkansas with mother, who was never heard of again; was bought from captors for a race horse valued at $300 and returned to former home in Missouri." So "Who's Who" describes the birth and infancy of Dr. George Washington Carver, one of the outstanding scientists in agricultural research, who died the other day at Tuskegee Institute. Though he did not

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learn to read and write until he was twenty, Dr. Carver, earning his own way, managed to graduate at the age of thirty from the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (he had been refused admission to another college because of his race). He went to Tuskegee in 1896 and founded there a school of agriculture devoted to the practical problems of farming, particularly in the South. In the course of almost half a century he developed hundreds of new products from the peanut and the sweet potato and cotton; from the clay soil of nineteen acres of "the worst land in Alabama," which he took over to show what could be done with it, he developed paints, pigments, stains, and face powders. He made paving blocks from cotton, synthetic marble from wood shavings, and paint from soy beans. He also made the fat cotton bolls of short-stalk cotton grow on tall stalks to prevent their being splashed with sand and ruined when it rained. He painted pictures and played the piano. He was deeply religious. He never took money for his discoveries, and much of what he earned at Tuskegee he gave to needy students. His life and work, as the funeral orators say, must be an inspiration. They should also provide, for white and black Americans alike, fresh and thrilling vindication of the principle of racial equality so often honored in the breach.

The President's Messages

"POLITICS" in a democracy is a sublimation of the struggle for power which takes the form of a ceaseless competition for the favors of the people. It is rather futile, therefore, to demand that, for the duration of the war, the President should confine himself in a political vacuum while his opponents take vows of political chastity. All we can hope for is that the voters will discourage the jeopardizing of national interests for the sake of party advantage by keeping score carefully and noting for punishment any resort to foul play such as the attempt to smear Harry Hopkins with fictitious emeralds.

The President's message on the state of the Union to the Seventy-eighth Congress was clearly a political act, although one with which, to their great discomfort, his foes could find little fault. He properly assumed that the nation is essentially unified in its determination to win the war and the peace, that however much we may quarrel over means we are agreed as to ends. And he was able to report that in the past year we had made appreciable progress toward our goal and could look forward with confidence to the future. Nineteen forty-two had been a critical year, but its end found our side in a stronger position than at the beginning, while our enemies had weakened. These achievements the President rightly credited to the skill and courage of our services and of our fighting allies, but he also spoke warmly of the cooperation on the home front of workers, industrialists, and farmers. For his Administration he refrained from making any claims, admitted that it had sometimes blundered, indicated he was prepared to have it judged by results.

The one section of this part of the speech open to criticism was that dealing with production; this, I. F. Stone suggests on another page, presented an over-roseate picture. Yet even if production has fallen a good deal short of potential capacity, it has achieved a magnitude that is bound to impress the Axis very disagreeably. And in this connection we have to congratulate the President for abandoning meaningless percentages and quoting definite figures. We doubt if by so doing he has given the enemy any information endangering our interests, and we are certain that he has strengthened our means of political warfare. The frantic efforts of the Axis radio commentators to belittle and explain away these details of American production are sufficient proof of that.

When the President turned from the present to the future he neither proclaimed a retreat nor exposed his flanks to the Congressional guerrillas. As if anxious to fall in with opposition proposals that Congress should insist on more legislative responsibility, he put forward no definite proposals but offered instead some unassailable objectives. In particular, he insisted that men and women on the fighting fronts and the domestic front expected their demands for economic security would be met, and, in effect, he challenged Congress to provide a solution for this problem.

The fact that Mr. Roosevelt is not evacuating any important positions became clearer on the publication of his budget message. He has renewed the demand he made last year for the removal of special tax privileges—tax-exempt bonds, special depletion allowances for certain mineral producers, separate tax returns for married couples. He has also, undaunted by the barrage of criticism both inside and outside Congress, proposed once again that all incomes should be limited during the war period to $25,000 net after allowing for payment of insurance premiums and other fixed charges.

In support of this proposal he pointed out that, after provision for our war needs, there would be about $500 worth of goods and services per capita available to civilians, and while many people will spend more than this, it will be because still greater numbers are forced to spend much less. We are now in a siege economy, but if the limited amount of goods on the market is fairly distributed everyone can be reasonably well clothed and fed. In times of scarcity, however, the gravitational pull of long purses becomes a large factor in breaking down price ceilings and promoting black markets.

Again, Mr. Roosevelt called for greatly increased taxation so that nearly half of the $108 billion war budget can be financed out of current revenue—a course which

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the avoidance of inflation makes imperative. If Congress follows his lead it will mean an additional $16 billion in taxes—an amount which cannot possibly be raised without a very steep increase in rates starting at the lowest brackets. It will hardly prove feasible to place such burdens on receivers of small incomes, burdens which mean the sacrifice not merely of luxuries but of very modest comforts and even necessities, while leaving a small group of rich people in possession of incomes exceeding $25,000. If Congress will put its ear to the ground instead of keeping its eye on the editorial pages, we think it will find that the President has an issue here on which he could rally very wide popular support.

Good Neighbor Daydream

WE DON'T suppose it will happen. Our diplomacy has moved too far away from vigor and common sense. But it would electrify Latin America if the President brushed aside the cobwebs of protocol, recalled Ambassador Boal from Bolivia, and asked the Pan-American Union to reinstate Ernesto Galarza as chief of its Labor and Social Information Division. By these actions—to continue our daydream—the President would demonstrate to the masses of Latin America not merely that he was sincere in the Good Neighbor policy (few doubt his sincerity) but that he was strong and determined enough to force our State Department and diplomatic service to act upon the principles he has laid down. It is true that by such a move Mr. Roosevelt would upset some groups in Latin America—notably much of our foreign service, Franco's and Hitler's agents, and the Bolivian tin magnates. There would be compensation in the increased trust of the masses.

So far, as we go to press, there have been no such pleasant consequences of the publication in our last week's issue of Secretary Hull's discreet instructions to Boal to throw his influence against the new labor code in Bolivia. There has been a frantic effort to uncover the source from which *The Nation* obtained the text of the Hull telegram and a digest of Boal's previous report to the Secretary of State on the arguments he had used with the President of Bolivia against the code. But there has been no denial, diplomatic or otherwise, or any attempt to disprove the story by publishing the official texts of the Boal cable and the Hull reply. State Department officials are also indignant, again privately, with the Washington Merry-Go-Round for publishing references to later cables in which Boal expressed his displeasure over the Bolivian government's failure to act more vigorously in smashing the recent tin strike there.

We think it the duty of the American labor movement to make its voice heard in behalf of its brothers in Bolivia. We commend James G. Patton of the Farmers' Union for his public statement protesting against the treatment of Bolivian labor, and we hope that similar protests will be forthcoming from William Green of the American Federation of Labor and Philip Murray of the C. I. O., both of whom, we understand, have shown their concern by making private inquiries.

Transit Workers' Rights

THE Transport Workers' Union has decided not to call a strike on the New York City transit lines because of the effect such action would have on war production. But in surrendering the right to strike during the emergency, the union has asked that its demands be settled as promptly as possible by arbitration. This request has been flatly rejected by Mayor LaGuardia and the Board of Transportation on the ground that the board, as a public body, cannot be bound by an arbitration award. The money to pay increased wages, the Mayor declares, could come only from an increase in fares or from greater taxation, and "no board of arbitration or no outside source has the power to increase or find the money from these two sources." Previously the Mayor had refused to recognize the right of the T. W. U. to bargain collectively with the city for much the same reason, and had held that the workers, as civil-service employees, did not have the right to strike to enforce their demands. Earlier still he had insisted that the War Labor Board had no jurisdiction over wage disputes between municipalities and their employees.

It is obvious that the position taken by New York's chief executive raises fundamental questions as to the basic rights of municipal employees, particularly where such employees are engaged in work comparable to and competitive with private employment. Do such employees, because they come under civil service, automatically lose their rights as citizens to bring pressure for increased wages and better conditions of employment? This is apparently the case if we are to accept Mayor LaGuardia's interpretation of the law.

The practical results of this interpretation are highly disquieting. Two and a half years have passed since the City of New York took over the B. M. T. and I. R. T. subways in a move to effect unification of the city's transit facilities under municipal control. During this period living costs have risen between 15 and 20 per cent, but in contrast with wages for most types of work there has been no general increase in the wages of the transit workers. Nor has there been any settlement of the basic issue of union security. It is true that a labor grievance committee was set up in the fall of 1941, but its powers have been carefully circumscribed and many of its recommendations have been ignored by the Board of Transportation. As a result, considerable bitterness has developed

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between the workers and the city—a condition that cannot fail to be detrimental to the cause of public ownership generally.

If, as LaGuardia maintains, the law prohibits collective labor agreements, arbitration, and other basic labor rights to city employees, we can have no fault to find with the Mayor or the Board of Transportation. Their task is not to make the law but to enforce it. Actually, the legal situation is not so simple or so clear-cut as we are asked to believe. It is true that an arbitrator cannot increase fares or taxes, but neither could he increase the income of a privately owned transit company. There are several precedents for collective bargaining by a public agency. Labor contracts already exist between the TVA and its employees and between the City of Seattle and its street-railway employees. In Michigan a court recently ruled that "it is well within the police power of a state to attempt to prevent disputes between employees and employers not only in manufacturing concerns but also in public utilities, whether privately or publicly owned." So far the New York courts have refused to grant the Board of Transportation's contention that it has no authority to enter into any kind of a contract with its employees.

The absence of any clear legal directive makes it possible for city authorities to approach the admittedly delicate problem of working out satisfactory wages and working conditions with unionized city employees with tact and good-will. Mayor LaGuardia has taken his first step in this direction by appointing a five-man committee to "study labor relations in the city's transit system." We hope that this committee will see its task as something more than the settling of a dispute in one city, and consider it in terms of the basic rights of the growing number of American citizens who happen to be employed by public rather than by private enterprise.

Russia's Great Offensive

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE steady advances of the Red Army and its recapture of important strong points in the Nazi defense system have gone far to distract people's minds from the stalemate in North Africa. Too far, perhaps. For the two campaigns are closely related, both in political and military terms, and any major difficulty on one front is sure to be reflected on the other end in the over-all strategy which links them.

Undoubtedly the North African campaign helped Stalin. The defeat of Rommel in Egypt and Libya and his forced retreat to Tripolitania drew a part of the German air power to the Mediterranean even before the landings in the west. The American invasion drew off still more. Stalin warmly acknowledged the value of these operations even though he did not accept them as a full-fledged second front. The tide in Russia turned definitely about two weeks after the American landing. It is still flowing strongly, and Hitler has acknowledged the power of the Soviet offensive by shifting his whole strategy to one of holding as many key points as possible and seeking to intrench his position inside Fortress Europe. How long he can succeed in this final defensive aim depends on the capacity of the Allies to attack in Tunisia as well as on Russia's ability to hold the offensive. A prolonged stalemate in North Africa will provide both time and opportunity for the reinforcement and supply of the key defense points which command the narrow Mediterranean passage. Bizerte and Tunis may well become the most important southern bastion of Hitler's Europe.

But meanwhile the "second front" has bogged down in mud and inactivity, and Russia is again carrying the entire burden of the offensive. No final victory in the east will be likely unless the British and Americans, with what help they can get from the French, succeed in driving the Nazis out of North Africa.

It is important, in the light of these facts, to consider the position of the Russians and their prospect of holding the offensive until something happens on the African front. Cautious observers, in England as well as here, doubt whether the present momentum of the Red Armies can be maintained. The Russians themselves say little. As Hanson W. Baldwin pointed out last Sunday, the Soviet campaign is still the "unknown war." Both sides exercise a censorship equaled in severity only by our own in North Africa. But Mr. Baldwin also refers to the comment of Sergei N. Kournakov, in *Soviet Russia Today*, that the Red Army should not be expected to "recapture territory by the scores of miles indefinitely."

Perhaps the best key to Russia's position is a comparison of this year's and last year's counter-offensive. In the summer and fall of 1941 Hitler's armies overran some 527,000 square miles of Russian territory. In the winter of 1941-42 the Russians regained somewhere between 50,000 and 100,000 square miles. Last summer the Nazis, shifting the direction of their drive to the south, took about 105,000 square miles—far more than they had lost during last winter and more valuable both in strong points and resources. This winter the new Soviet offensive has so far—and the Russian winter is still young—regained 50,000 or 60,000 of the miles lost. But again the success of the fighting must be measured in terms of strategy as well as territory. The Russians have taken several so-called "hedgehogs"—key points in the Nazi defense system. They claim the capture of Velikie Luki on the central front, though the German command has not acknowledged its loss. This important center may prove the key to a number of other "hedge-

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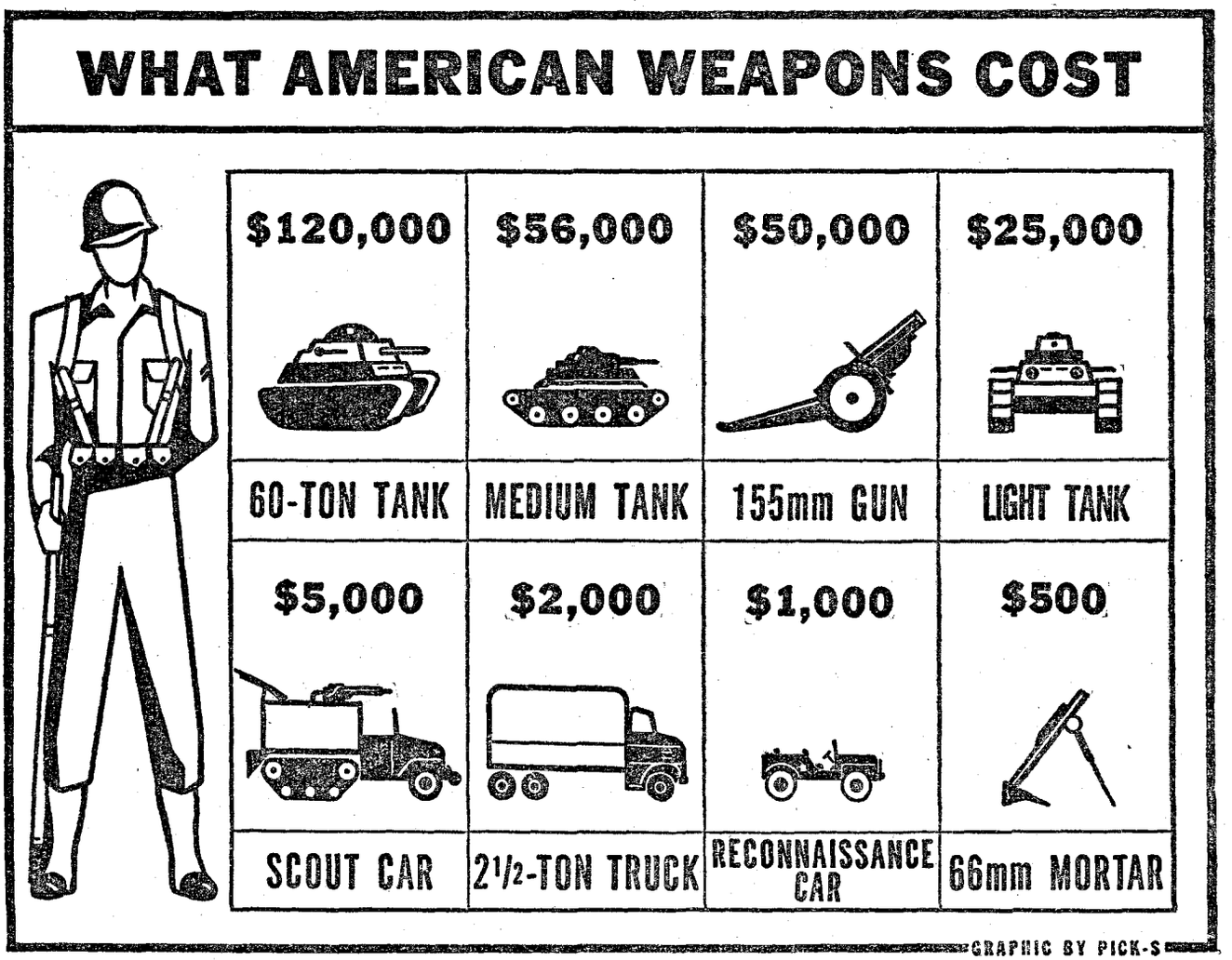
hogs" which, taken together, form the present German defensive position on this front.

The drive in the south is largely a struggle for lines of communication. The Germans are fighting desperately to hold the main stations and junction points on the Stalingrad-Rostov line. Indeed, the fact that they are still intrenched in and around Stalingrad, though cut off from supplies and reinforcements, has prevented the Russians from using freely the lines that radiate from that key center. Once the lines are cleared, the German defeat in this area will be a certainty. The Russians, pushing down the Don valley toward Rostov, have also captured several German bases of attack, particularly Chernishkovskaya and Morozorsk. If they succeed in reaching Rostov, they will not only have regained a valuable strong point but will have cut off the German forces in the Caucasus, leaving them no land route either for reinforcement or for retreat. If they attempt to pull out, it will mean crossing the Strait of Kerch into the Crimea. In the Caucasus itself the Red Army is steadily pressing the Nazi troops north and west toward the Russian forces moving down the Don.

The Russian offensive is no mere advance into territory voluntarily evacuated. It is the real thing. And the rest of the world has good reason to feel optimistic as it watches the courageous Red Army drive back and trap and demolish huge sections of Hitler's best forces. But at the same time it is well to check one's hopes of early victory by a look at the map. Of all the vast territory overrun by the Nazi armies—somewhere between 500,000 and 600,000 square miles—about 50,000 square miles have been retrieved. The Russians have a long way to go: they have lost a vast part of their best agricultural land and their industrial plants; they have lost millions of soldiers and millions of civilians, killed and captured. And Hitler holds Europe.

The outcome of the Battle of Russia does not depend on Russian courage or Russian strength alone. It depends on the concerted efforts of the Red Army, the armies of the Allies, and the peoples of Europe. The last of these forces is as important for the final defeat of Hitler as both of the others, and Russia, at least, knows it. Britain and the United States know it, too, or pretend they do. But the fierce political war in North Africa, precipitated by our blundering arrangements with the dissident Vichy leaders, shows how little we reckoned on either the dangers or the value of the political front against Hitler. The progress of the Allied military campaign itself may be decided by the speed with which we are able to undo the blunders of our invading generals and diplomats.



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F. D. R. and Production

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 10

THE President on Production. In his message to Congress Mr. Roosevelt called our production record a miracle. It could more accurately be described as a monstrosity. It is huge but misshapen. Sheer bulk renders it formidable in appearance, but there are two dozen vulnerable spots in its hide. It's a dinosaur, not a war horse, and like the dinosaur its most conspicuous feature is its lack of directing brains.

Looking at the Record. Mr. Roosevelt has consistently painted the production picture in rosy hues. In August of 1940 Senator Byrd pointed out that in the hundred days following the President's speech calling for 50,000 planes, the army and navy combined had placed contracts for only 343 fighting planes. Mr. Roosevelt replied that "Senator Byrd's figures are correct, but his implications dead wrong." The implication was that we were confusing paper programs with planes in production. The results of this confusion were visible eighteen months later in Far Eastern skies, where Japan dominated the air. A year later Senator Byrd again called attention to the alarming lag between talk and reality, and the President had as poor a reply.

Good News Preferred. There is some reason to believe that the President prefers pleasant news, and the men around the President tell him what they think he would like to hear. This may be part of the explanation for some curious statements on production which have come from the White House. There was the famous statement made in February, 1941, when the President branded talk of a steel shortage as "a deliberate lie." Months later, testimony by Under Secretary of War Patterson and Rear Admiral Vickery of the Maritime Commission showed that we were already suffering from a steel shortage at that time. On last April 24 Mr. Roosevelt said the arms program was going so well, except in shipbuilding, that we would soon be able to raise our sights. The WPB's reports at that time showed production behind schedule, and as it happened shipbuilding was the only major item in which the President's "victory-program" goals were reached or surpassed. When the Truman committee on last May 26, months ahead of the Baruch report, called attention to the seriousness of our rubber problem, Mr. Roosevelt told the press next day that he did not think there was anything in the situation to cause excitement. "President Predicts Substitute to Meet Lack of Natural Rubber," said the headlines.

Plenty of Aluminum. Last fall the President told the press that there was no shortage of aluminum in airplane plants. Several weeks later the WPB in an official press release said plane production was hampered by shortages of aluminum and steel alloys. At the press conference on October 1 at which the President told of his tour through the nation's war plants, he reported that the war effort was being harmed by Congressional investigation of problems that Congressmen, as laymen, could not understand. These laymen, judging from the President's further remarks, seemed better observers than the experts advising Mr. Roosevelt. He said the war-production effort was accomplishing about 94 to 95 per cent of his January objectives and that quotas for 1943 might be raised in the next few months. Quotas for 1942 and 1943 were even then in the process of being reduced.

What of the Victory Program? We exceeded the program in shipbuilding but fell below it in the other three major items—planes, tanks, and anti-aircraft guns. The output of anti-aircraft guns was 15 per cent and of planes 20 per cent below the President's original goals. Tank production probably fell about 45 per cent below. Mr. Roosevelt had called for 45,000 tanks. The OWI hid the extent of the drop in tank production by lumping tanks with self-propelled artillery. It gave 32,000 as the number of tanks and self-propelled artillery produced last year. Mr. Roosevelt went one step farther and said, "In 1942 we produced 56,000 combat vehicles, such as tanks and self-propelled artillery." This total of 56,000 was reached by lumping scout cars and other combat vehicles with tanks and self-propelled artillery. This sort of thing is more likely to deceive our own people than the Axis. It is my guess that we did not produce more than 25,000 tanks last year.

Why Was Tank Output Cut? Earlier in the fall we were told that tank production was being cut to enable us to increase the output of planes. This explanation was puzzling since tanks are made of steel and planes largely of aluminum. Later it was said that we did not have enough ships to send so many tanks abroad; and again that we did not have enough steel to make so many tanks. The best figures I can obtain are that even the original 1943 goal of 75,000 tanks would have taken only 2 per cent of our output of carbon steel and 15 per cent of our output of alloy steel. Mr. Roosevelt has another explanation. "In tank production," he told Congress, "we revised our schedule—and for good and sufficient reasons. As a result of hard experience in battle, we have diverted a portion of our tank-producing capacity to a stepped-up production of new deadly field weapons, especially self-propelled artillery."

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Other Possible Factors. Another reason for cutting the tank schedule may be the fact that the widely publicized tank arsenals of Detroit were not delivering the goods. The only figures I have are on Ford. He was supposed to reach peak schedule in production of tanks and self-propelled artillery last month. In September Ford output of tanks and self-propelled artillery was a little less than 15 per cent of peak schedule. My information is that the cut in tank schedules affected lend-lease only. It seems hard to believe that with the terrific mortality of tanks on the eastern front, the Russians could not use more tanks if they could get them.

Why Did We Fall Short? We fell short of the President's goals last year because the War Production Board under Donald M. Nelson was dilatory in curtailing civilian industry. Civilian radios were still being made six months after Pearl Harbor; production of stainless-steel knick-knacks for the luxury trade went on until September. Control of materials and inventories was slack, and to a large degree remains so. Little real effort was made to force subcontracting to idle facilities in smaller business and thus reduce the need for building new factories and making new machine tools. There was no attempt to plan or organize the conversion of industry. Three-fourths of the war contracts were handed to 100 large corporations, and they were left to do the job pretty much as it suited their convenience.

Critical Point. Having cut our production goals to fit our supply of materials, the danger now is that we shall cut plans to expand materials on the ground that these are no longer needed. This would be a great victory for the basic material-producing industries, which have opposed expansion from the start of the defense program. The expansion of production facilities has followed a pattern which is illogical from the standpoint of national defense but logical from the standpoint of big-business interest. The logical way from the national standpoint was first to expand production of basic materials and then of the facilities to turn these materials into weapons. The actual figures as disclosed last month to the Senate Small Business Committee showed that expansion programs were farthest advanced in facilities for making items which do not compete with normal business, like guns and shells, while the greatest lag was in facilities for producing basic materials. As of September 30 last only 2 per cent of the program for non-ferrous metals including aluminum had been 100 per cent completed, compared with 12 per cent of all expansion and 24 per cent of the programs for making guns and ammunition. Others which showed a low percentage of completion were: non-manufacturing (power lines, etc.), 2 per cent; chemicals, including synthetic rubber, 3 per cent; iron and steel products, 4 per cent; petroleum and coal products, 7 per cent. As of September 30, too, the greatest proportion of projects deferred was in the production of basic materials. Of $354,000,000 in deferred projects, $130,000,000 was in iron and steel; $113,000,000 in chemicals; $102,000,000 in non-ferrous metals.

Weaknesses. We are not getting maximum potential output of materials, and the pressure for expanded materials output has lessened, if anything, in the past few months, with the cut in production goals. On the production front, from what I could see and learn in the Middle West recently, there is great waste of manpower and machinery. Morale is poor because workers feel that much big-business management doesn't have its heart in the war effort. "Thousands of usable tools in America are but fractionally employed. They can produce satisfactory work. They must be put to work to speed the job by filling the gap for which many new tools have been ordered." The quotation is from a directive issued to prime contractors as recently as December 15, 1942, by Under Secretaries Patterson and Forrestal and Chairman Nelson of the WPB. Unfortunately this is another of those directives that place too great a strain on human nature. It asks prime contractors to cut down their own backlogs by assigning "an aggressive open-minded official" to reexamine their contracts and "comb out every part that warrants subcontracting consideration (reserving the tough ones for your own manufacture)." Since the tough ones are the ones on which the contractor is most likely to lose money, this is asking a good deal. How long will it take us to learn that our army of machines, like our army of men, cannot be efficiently organized on a purely voluntary basis?

Not a Total Effort. "We cannot afford the luxury of self-congratulation on the production record of 1942," says the final report of the Tolan committee.

> It represents substantial gains, to be sure, over the low levels of 1941, but it is the product of America's unorganized might and far short of our organized productive capacity, to say nothing of the stated goals. Not only have our allies suffered severely for lack of the lend-lease supplies we have been unable to deliver, but even the equipment of our own forces is very uneven.

And Congressman Bender of Cleveland adds in a separate opinion of his own:

> As long as the bulk of small productive capacity in the country remains unused . . . as long as 80 per cent of all contracts remain in the hands of the 100 major corporations . . . without centralized direction, scheduling, or proper subcontracting, we cannot expect that the peace will be any different from the character of our own war effort to date.

Mr. Roosevelt owes it to us to pay some attention to this pattern instead of merely boasting to Congress that we produced 10,250,000,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition last year, "five times greater than our 1941 production."

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Russia and the West

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

I

IN A memorable address delivered on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution Joseph Stalin expressed confidence in the "progressive rapprochement of the U. S. S. R., Great Britain, and America" and reported that Churchill's visit to Russia had "established complete mutual understanding between the leaders of the two countries." He admitted that there were some persons—whether in Russia or the West he did not say—who had no confidence in this coalition because it contained "conflicting ideologies and heterogeneous elements." But in refutation he pointed to the indubitable fact of the coalition and insisted that "a common threat imperatively imposes the necessity of common action." He brought his survey of the relations of Russia with the United Nations to a conclusion with the succinct observation that "the logic of facts is stronger than any other logic."

Western liberalism might well regard this statement as an admission by the Communist leader that the logic of history had not conformed to Communist logic. The complexities of history have perhaps overwhelmed the blueprints of the Communist "dialectic of history." According to these blueprints, capitalist and Communist societies were arrayed in irreconcilable enmity toward each other. In reality they found themselves collaborating against a common foe whom both regarded as more sinister than either had once thought the other.

It would not be fair, however, to interpret Stalin's words as an admission of the failure of history to conform to Communist blueprints without recognizing that many Western observers, both on the right and the left, were as certain as the Communists of the irreconcilable contradiction between the Communist and the democratic world. This feeling was strong enough on both sides to have made collaboration impossible if the stronger "logic of facts" had not intervened; that is, if Hitler had not attacked Russia, and Japan had not subsequently attacked the United States.

If there are those in the Western world who still bear resentment against Stalin for his pact with Germany, without which the war could not have started, they should remember that the same Stalin had actually capitulated to the logic of history before history used facts as a bludgeon. When Russia joined the League of Nations and sought a scheme of "collective security," Stalin practically announced that he no longer followed the Communist blueprint, that he made distinctions between various "capitalist" powers which had no validity in orthodox Communist thought, and that he was ready to cooperate with some of these powers in order to stop a type of international politics which neither Communist nor liberal interpretations of history had envisaged. He resorted to the pact with Germany only after the other policy met no response from the West. His alliance with Germany proved abortive, even in the short run; but it was hardly more abortive than the capitalist powers' sacrifice of Czecho-Slovakia or their guaranty of Poland's territorial integrity without a previous understanding with Russia.

With respect to past failures the score is fairly even. It is obvious today that the war against Germany can be won only by collaboration between the Western world and Russia based on fairly intimate mutual understanding. But the more important aspect of the situation is that, despite the testimony of both clerical and economic reactionaries to the contrary, this intimate mutual understanding must be continued after the war if a durable peace is to be established. How this is to be achieved in the face of the still existing ideological differences between the Western world and Russia is the question. If we want to give Russia the advantage, we define the difference as one between communism and capitalism. If we feel self-righteous, we define it as one between dictatorship and democracy. The very fact that the difference can be stated in such contradictory terms illumines the serious character of the ideological conflict. If the Western world were not uneasy about its unsolved economic problems it would not approach the Communist answer to those problems so emotionally. On the other hand, there is no reason for an uncritical acceptance of the Russian solution. We ought to be grateful that the logic of history has refuted some of the Communist answers to our problems, for we might not have had the wit to refute them as effectively. We know that the democratic world has not yet found a way to achieve basic security and justice in a technical society. But we also know that actually Communist equalitarianism concentrates economic and political power in a small oligarchy, that such an oligarchic rule is destructive of fundamental liberties, and that the Communist hope that the dictatorship, together with the state itself, will wither away is the most pathetic of utopian illusions.

We shall be successful in ironing out our ideological differences only if we assume that neither side has the complete answer to the vexatious problem of social and

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political justice. We should certainly look with suspicion upon the testimony of those who affect to be shocked by the Communist solution of our unsolved problems, but would in reality be shocked by any solution that threatened their privileges.

It will be important also to appreciate what we have in common with Russia and to recognize the distinction between the Russian and the Nazi dictatorship. In his anniversary address Stalin defined our common ideals as the "equality of nations," "the liberation of enslaved nations," and "the restoration of democratic liberties." If we can hardly hide an ironic smile at his mention of the third point, we must allow him the same privilege when we concur in the first. The fact is that though communism uses dictatorship brutally, it does not exalt it as an end in itself. Nor does it worship either race or war. Its moral cynicism is only provisional, and it is never morally nihilistic, as the Nazis are. It is, in fact, ultimately utopian in morals, just as is the liberal-democratic world. The Communists believe in the possibility of banishing force from social life by one final rigorous application of it in the class struggle. The liberal world, until the "logic of facts" dissuaded it, believed that history was gradually eliminating force from social and political life. It would be difficult to decide which of these two illusions contributed more to the emergence of a political cynicism which glorifies force without regard to justice. But at any rate we should recognize that communism believes in universal standards of justice. If the means by which it has sought to attain them have sometimes led to their destruction, that is not altogether a new phenomenon in history. Consider, for instance, the consequences of laissez-faire economics.

Ideally, collaboration between the Communist and the democratic world might lead to a wholesome exchange of political experience. The Communists are already admitting that the capitalist world is not so devoid of justice or so completely untrustworthy as their dogma had led them to assume. We might possibly arrive at similar conclusions. We have, on the whole, more liberty and less equality than Russia has. Russia has less liberty and more equality. Whether democracy should be defined primarily in terms of liberty or of equality is a source of unending debate. But history proves fairly conclusively that if we subordinate one too much to the other, we shall end by losing both.

A fruitful interchange between Russia and the democracies must not be expected to achieve a common culture in which all differences will be effaced. That a world order depends upon a common culture is a favorite thesis of utopians, who imagine the achievement of universal standards to be simpler than it is. Modern democracies have had to learn how to maintain domestic tranquillity under conditions of cultural pluralism; and it is hardly likely that the world scene will be less complex or more amenable than a single nation. There must be agreement upon minimum standards of equity in a world political order. Above all there must be a strong coincidence between the self-interest of the various national units and the requirements of peace in the international structure. But in matters of culture and of economic organization mutual forbearance will be more important than uniformity.

The relations between the Communist and the democratic world after the war will be somewhat analogous to the relations between Catholicism and Protestantism after the Thirty Years' War. That war, it will be remembered, proved that neither of these divisions of Christendom could establish its supremacy over Europe. The Peace of Westphalia solved the problem by a whole series of compromises which conformed to the "logic of facts" but not to any other logic. The analogy is not complete because democracy and communism have not been at war with each other but have collaborated in defeating a common foe; it is, nevertheless, a valid one. The conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism was, on the economic side, a conflict between the older feudal-agrarian order and the rising middle classes. The conflict between liberal democracy and communism is one between the middle classes and the workers. In a sense the liberal-democratic world is a secularized version of Protestantism, while communism is a secularized version of Catholicism, which may be one reason why the Church hates the Kremlin with an almost pathological hatred. Each side is inclined to feel that the truth of its doctrine is so irrefutable that history must give it the victory, but history is never so clear-cut in its decisions as human logic. Americans who imagine that they can establish a world order upon the basis of American conceptions of "free enterprise" will be as certainly frustrated by the complexities of history as Communists, because of those same complexities, will be disappointed in their hope of a world revolution.

Joseph Stalin

The possibility of achieving a stable world order, with Russia as one of the dominant nations of that order, is enhanced by the fact that Russia and the Western nations have a common interest in its establishment. The primary obstacle to achieving it is found in the relationship between Russia and the remnants of the worldwide Communist Party. Russia, as a nation, is not aggressive. All

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its natural inclinations will be for the maintenance of peace and the status quo after the war. But the Communist Party is the symbol and the instrument of Russia's spiritual imperialism, or rather of the worldwide ambitions of a political movement which has Russia for a base and which ostensibly still desires a world revolution. Stalin has proved again and again that the instincts and responsibilities of a Russian statesman dominate his thought and lead to a subordination of the purer Communist faith, of which Leon Trotsky was in a sense the symbol.

How are the requirements of Russian statesmanship related to the maintenance of this revolutionary threat against the nations with which Russia must collaborate? Is Soviet support of the Communist Party merely a remnant of the faith of another day, or does it increase the power of Russia in its relations with the Western world? If it adds to Russian power, does it give an advantage which the other nations cannot tolerate? Perhaps there is another analogy here between our post-war world and the world after the Thirty Years' War. It will be remembered that the Peace of Westphalia outlawed the Jesuit order, which was the political and international instrument of the Counter-Reformation. Part of the price which Catholicism had to pay for peace was the disavowal of its instruments of international power. Is there any guidance for us in this analogy? Or should we perhaps be warned by the futility of the attempt to suppress the Jesuits?

[*Dr. Niebuhr will address himself to these questions in the second half of this article, which will appear in the next issue.*]

Britain Is Not Amused

BY TOM WINTRINGHAM

[*Mr. Wintringham's article was written before the assassination of Admiral Darlan. We are nevertheless glad to print the greater part of it for the light it throws on the reaction of the British people to the arrangement with Darlan and on the extent to which they have been kept in the dark concerning the popular attitude in this country.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

London, December 16

QUEEN VICTORIA, when some jest at her table touched on the things sacred to Victorianism, produced the crushing comeback: "We are not amused." The British people are no longer Victorian; it would not be possible today to name the things they hold sacred or to say definitely that there are any such things. Yet we are still capable of being shocked. When the full meaning of Admiral Darlan's appointment, and the consequences likely to occur in Italy and the rest of Europe, became clear to the British people, they were—to use the old Victorian word—flabbergasted. Patients suffering from shock do not react at once; they gasp. And very little in the way of visible reaction to this appointment has become obvious. There has not been the immediate fury of protest that greeted, seven years ago, the Hoare-Laval pact surrendering most of Abyssinia to Mussolini.

Even if such a fury of protest were felt, it would find few avenues of expression in the political blackout. The newspapers are under more severe pressure than ever before; the Parliament that was elected in 1935 on issues that no one remembers is not allowed to debate the matter openly. A debate on Darlan has taken place in secret session; this means that M. P.'s are gagged and cannot refer again to the matter for fear of revealing or appearing to reveal whatever secrets were then placed before them. Neither censorship nor closed sessions of Parliament are defended any longer on the ground that secrecy is necessary to prevent our enemies learning things useful to them; the excuse is that our allies must not hear things which would displease them. As our allies now include Admiral Darlan, public debate on his appointment becomes difficult. Perhaps it would be simpler to acknowledge the real reason for secrecy, which is clearly that certain things ought to be concealed, not for fear that our enemies or our allies will learn of them, but for fear that the British people will.

In 1941 and 1942 North Africa served as the main prison camp for that government in which Admiral Darlan was at all material times either the second or the third man. Mr. Churchill, giving a message of encouragement to the French people during this period, promised them that they should be free again "in spite of the infamies of Laval and Darlan." The French penal settlement at Devil's Island was a long way off and inaccessible. So Laval and Darlan made, for those who opposed fascism and "infamy," new devil's islands in the hell of the Sahara. To the famine and misery of these prisons were sent Jews by the thousands, French anti-fascists, French patriots, Spaniards who had fought against General Franco, refugees from Hitler, and nearly a thousand men from the International Brigades. They

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are there still. So far as we can find out, most of them are likely to stay there. President Roosevelt has made a request, and Admiral Darlan has answered it by announcing a grudging "amnesty." But the officials instructed to carry out this amnesty are those handpicked in the past by Darlan for their loyalty to fascism and their eagerness to collaborate in setting up Hitler's New Order.

These men may of course find it difficult to resist the natural generosity of their natures. Or they may, like other French officials in similar circumstances, point out that the amnesty cannot be implemented until all cases have been inquired into; it would be contrary to the great principle of equality to take one case before another and contrary to good bureaucratic procedure to allow release until all forms have been filled out. The fact that many of these forms are not yet printed is not their responsibility.

Even the best intelligence services have strange gaps in them: by some such curious omission the British government was never informed, four or five years ago, about the thousands of Germans and Italians fighting on General Franco's side in Spain. In the same way it is apparently impossible for the British government to discover whether any anti-fascists have been released in North Africa. It begins to appear odd to the British public that the correspondents of our newspapers, accredited to our forces there, never manage to say a word about these prisoners.

Most curious of all is the fact, well known to the whole of Fleet Street, that if the British government really desired to find out about these prisoners it need only lift a telephone and call the headquarters of Fighting France. There it could hear not only about 10,000 Frenchmen and 15,000 foreigners in the camps, but also about men who were on our side at Dakar long ago, men who welcomed and helped the American landing in November, but who have been not only jailed but subjected to certain ingenious tortures to make them reveal their "accomplices."

One argument about Darlan particularly puzzles the British: that this is just an American job. When they see the British Admiral Cunningham standing beside Admiral Darlan to take the salute of British forces in North Africa—a photograph widely reproduced here—they feel less certain that this can be true. When they read of a young sergeant in a French tank unit who surrendered to American troops and asked to join them, but who was sent home and then chased and shot at by Darlan's police as a deserter, they are astonished also to read that this man was smuggled out of North Africa by an American official. And those who read their newspapers with any care find it extraordinary that we are not allowed to know what American newspapers and public men are saying about Darlan. People here begin to suspect a neat operation: that in Britain the Americans are blamed, while when protests rise in America someone else is blamed—perhaps the British. Neither people is allowed to know what the other is saying and feeling.

Only in one solitary British newspaper have I come across the sort of protest that we all expected to hear from America. The booming voice of Mr. Willkie got through to a London evening newspaper. Our evening papers, unlike our morning ones, do not cover the whole country. What Mr. Willkie says is news; yet what he said with great clearness in that article did not reappear in any of the morning papers that I saw; and I see too many.

Therefore while it is true that a few of the more simple-minded among the English are glad to say, "Of course it's the Americans' fault," the bulk of the population is more or less conscious that America is divided on the subject, and that the plan for using a Quisling victory to frustrate a European revolution is not likely to be popular with the American people.

The purely military argument advanced by General Catroux against the Darlan policy appeals to something rather fundamental in the British character. We like fighting from a secure base. The base does not have to be big; in 1940 it was not much bigger than these little islands. But it has to be "well found." It is a nasty feeling even for the man in the street to realize that while the British First Army with its American comrades-in-arms is pushing into Tunisia, its communications and radio stations and police, the power to move troops and the power to grant exit or entry permits to "tourists" are in the hands of a man the Germans found useful and accommodating when they were robbing and ruining France.

What is going to be done about it? In this country as I write people are recovering a little from being flabbergasted. Sometimes, after a bad bombing, the surgeons find that the effect of shock is not noticeable until the next day. That next day is coming here; a delayed reaction is setting in. Christmas and the New Year mean that Parliament is on holiday; but it is still a custom here to make good resolutions on New Year's Eve. The British people were told that Darlan's position was only temporary; they may easily make the good resolution that "temporary" does not mean 1943. How successful they will be in putting this resolution into practice probably depends largely on the possibility of linking together British and American efforts against Darlanism. If this link is not made, we shall get only a very slight change—from Darlan to Giraud or the like. But if the link is made, the American and British peoples may cease to fight an imperial war for the reestablishment of empires, and may begin to wage the people's war for which Europe is hungrily waiting.

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Harlem at War

BY CHARLES WILLIAMS

IN HARLEM, the country's largest Negro community, the war doesn't seem to matter much. The people there have asked the question, "What will the war bring us?" The answer, as most of them see it, is "Nothing." They still want the United Nations to win, but only casually. They are for the United Nations as a matter of form, but their hearts aren't in it.

Harlem's people hoped for a while that the inequalities which "stung and dishonored" them would be swept away in the war. It was, after all, a war for the Four Freedoms. At the very least, they thought, race barriers in industry would go down under the pressure of war needs. They know better now. "It is true that some jobs have been opened to us," they say, "that economically we are better off. But most Harlem people can still find work only as domestics, chauffeurs, or common laborers. In other ways discrimination has not lessened; it has become more blatant and cruel." At a time when its soldier sons are dying, Harlem is conscious of this with an intensity that few white people realize. As a community, it feels oppressed and cheated.

You find this mood expressed in Harlem's newspapers, from its pulpits, on its street corners, among intellectuals and cleaning women—everywhere. One day last fall, for example, a typical cartoon in the Amsterdam *Star-News* showed a dead Negro soldier at the feet of a hard-faced military policeman with a smoking gun; the caption was, "Thanksgiving, U. S. A." A young Negro, refusing to report for induction into the army, wrote, "I cannot fight fascists in an army where I am treated as an inferior citizen." An editorial in the *People's Voice* said, "The tax on being black is still being levied." An educated and talented Negro with whom the writer was going to lunch paused before a restaurant and said quietly, "I can't go in there, you know." A letter from a Negro soldier in a Southern camp, quoted in the *People's Voice*, said, "Just yesterday they hanged a soldier only three miles from camp for no reason at all. . . . I am scared to leave camp."

The mistreatment of Negroes in the services is a continuing cause of Harlem's cynicism about the war. Murders may be infrequent, but Harlem runs over with accounts of "clubbings, insults, and abuse." "Morale builders," one person called them sardonically. One hears of Negro soldiers beaten by white civilians in Florence, South Carolina; of the jailing and beating of a Negro nurse attached to the Tuskegee Army Air Corps; of army nurses compelled to go without food for eighteen hours while en route through Texas; of soldiers, back on furlough from the Solomons, treated well aboard ship but made to sleep on the floor of their train across the continent. It is difficult to determine the truth of these stories; the significant fact is that they circulate and are believed and resented.

Harlem is proud of its soldiers. It thinks that they are probably among the best in the country. But this does not affect its attitude toward the army's segregation policy and the navy's restrictions on Negro personnel. Some people in Harlem express disapproval of Joe Louis for donating the proceeds of one fight to Navy Relief.

The experiences of its boys in Southern army camps have given Harlem a new and keen interest in the problems of Southern Negroes. This was evident during the recent poll-tax debate. Though Harlem, of course, is not affected by the poll tax, the defeat of the bill to repeal it was taken hard, at least among the more intelligent elements of the community. Newspapers pointedly noted that reports of the bill's defeat were not permitted to reach Negro soldiers outside the country. A delegation of prominent New York Negroes, among them five ministers, went to Washington to observe the Senate debate on the bill. They were at first refused admittance to the Senate gallery, and were finally herded out of a Senate corridor at the point of guns. It was noticed with disillusion in Harlem that Vice-President Wallace, who had spoken so ringingly of the Century of the Common Man, failed to acknowledge a report of the incident sent to him. In a passionately angry editorial the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., editor of the *People's Voice*, wrote that the affair revealed that Washington "stinks with jimcrow, discrimination, prejudice, and hatred. . . . Now the stench and decay have reached into the Capitol itself."

Harlem, of course, is itself the creation of Jim Crowism, which is only less onerous in New York than in the South. For all New York's vaunted liberalism, Negroes can seldom obtain apartments outside of Harlem and a few other strictly Negro sections. Nor are they permitted to eat in many of the city's restaurants. Some Negroes like to speculate on why New York liberals, who become so furiously concerned at the least injustice to people in Burma or India, do so little about similar injustices in their own city. Though Harlem contains New York's worst slums, rents are higher there than elsewhere in the city—this, you are told, is part of the "tax on being black." Food prices are higher, too,

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though Harlem housewives complain that only the poorest grades of food are sold there. School and hospital facilities are miserable. I walked up Lenox Avenue, in the heart of Harlem, with a Negro lawyer. "Here it is in all its glory," he said, pointing to rows of run-down, vermin-infested tenements in the side streets; "Harlem, the outhouse of New York, the thing for which we are expected to die joyously in the jungles of New Guinea or the deserts of Africa."

Harlem's "better elements" chafe under the impression, created by newspapers, that their community is overrun with crime. They admit that Harlem's crime rate is high but maintain that it is "no higher than in some other sections of New York, and certainly lower than newspaper accounts would indicate." Many stories of Negroes assaulting policemen are trumped up, they say, to conceal unjustifiable police assaults on Negroes. The *People's Voice* listed last month three instances of Negroes shot without provocation by policemen. But New York newspapers headed their account of at least one of these, "Detective Shoots Mugger." If the police want to clean up Harlem, its people ask you, why don't they curb prostitution and marijuana peddling? Why isn't something done to relieve its dreadful poverty?

It would be misleading to imply that Harlem has fallen into a kind of static despair, that it is waiting without much hope for something to be done for it. As a community Harlem is thoroughly tired of "Uncle Tomism." It is convinced that Negroes must organize and fight for what they want. The least popular Negro leaders in Harlem are those who advise forgetting about grievances for the duration. The Communists tried this for a while and lost followers in droves. A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the March on Washington movement, which compelled President Roosevelt to set up the Fair Employment Practices Committee, expressed Harlem's feeling at a meeting early this fall. "Negroes made the blunder of closing ranks and forgetting their grievances in the last war," he said. "We are resolved that we will not make that blunder again. Some of our appeasers say that if Negroes persist in fighting for their rights now, they are going to have trouble. Well, Negroes are already having trouble, and a little more trouble won't hurt." At one time the better-situated Negroes, the professionals and the intellectuals, thought they could rise to equality as individuals, by virtue of education and accomplishment. That notion has been quite thoroughly killed. "It doesn't matter who you are or think you are when you run up against the forces of reaction," Mr. Powell observed after his experience in the Senate, "a Negro is a Negro." As a result, some of the most able and gifted Negroes, who had more or less deserted Harlem, now are back in the fight.

Harlem is aware, of course, that it has made and is making gains. It is proud that most of these, like the formation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, are the result of the Negro's own efforts. It is encouraged by the new job opportunities that the Fair Employment Practices Committee has created. It is elated, though not in any servile manner, by every sign of fraternization between whites and Negroes. To realize how much this means to people who know that they deserve equality, one has only to look at their newspapers. They print with poignant eagerness pictures of Negro and white merchant-marine sailors swinging down a street together. The news that a single Negro girl had been given employment in the office of A. S. Beck was run under a two-column headline. The fact that no segregation exists at Fort Sill is jubilantly cited as proof that whites and blacks can get on together. Unfortunately, these signs of sanity in race relations, in comparison with what is happening in the country as a whole, are few and widely scattered.

It is a tribute to Harlem's basic loyalty to America that fascist propaganda has made no substantial inroads. Leonard Robert Jordan, the "Black Hitler" jailed by the FBI, had but a sparse following. Japanese propagandists, with customary thoroughness, invaded Harlem years before the outbreak of war, urging the solidarity of color, and Christian Front propagandists tried to exploit Harlem's resentment against some Jewish landlords. Apparently their combined efforts had only negligible results. Some of Harlem's people were surreptitiously pleased by the early "brown" men's successes against "white" Americans and English, and now, out of hurt-born malice rather than disloyalty, some talk of what Africans "will do to Americans if they get smart." Anti-white sentiment of a kind shows itself in other ways. A Negro soldier, asked to name a great member of his race, replied, "Joe Louis, because I don't think there's another Negro who doesn't go out of his way for the white man." But this is only race consciousness, which the country by every device of wrongheadedness has brought to a new pitch; it is not sedition.

Harlem's heightened race consciousness has taken a turn that is constructive and immensely interesting. Partly as a result of the insistent hammering of its newspapers and many of its leaders, Harlem is acquiring a sense of oneness with India, China, the West Indies, and, of course, Africa. A recent cartoon in the *People's Voice* showed an American Negro soldier holding a placard reading, "War Aims: Freedom Not Only for the People of Ravished Europe but Also for the Millions of Oppressed Colored People in Africa." Father Divine, who remains perhaps the most influential single person in Harlem, still preaches peace and tells his followers that only the freeing of all colored peoples everywhere can end war.

A few persons, such as Frank Crosswaith, chairman of the Negro Labor Committee, and A. Philip Randolph,

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have at various times tried to imbue Harlem with some enthusiasm for the war. They have emphasized how much worse off Negroes would be under Hitler. It is, one person observed, "the kind of argument you can take into your head but not into your heart." The Communists are about the only important group in Harlem earnestly for the war. The best indication of how hard pressed Negro leaders are to justify active support of the war to their followers was provided by Mr. Powell several weeks ago. "My faith is really blind now," he confessed. "If it were not for that blind faith, this present society would not offer much to the Negro people."

What Harlem's leaders want most, however, is to direct the community's discontent into constructive channels. They are urging their people to study and improve themselves. More important, they are exhorting them to fight for their rights as a group. A meeting several months ago was told that "every Negro, big and little, preacher and crapshooter, Ph.D. and jitterbug, social worker and whist fan, lawyer and longshoreman, must be made to realize that he must join with other Negroes to win our democratic rights now." The war is still regarded as a great, though swiftly fading, opportunity to accomplish something big. There is a feeling that should this war-time opportunity pass, the Negro will face a bleak eternity of fighting for piecemeal concessions which somehow will never add up to the one thing he really wants—equality. Harlem's leaders are saying, "If we don't fight for our rights during this war, while the government needs us, it will be too late after the war."

Whether Harlem, the country's largest Negro community, will rise to these exhortations—they are being heard in many other Negro communities, too—it is difficult to say. But while it debates whether or not to fight its own war, it isn't going to get very excited about the World War—not unless in some tangible way we demonstrate that both wars are the same.

"Suffer Little Children"

BY HERTA PAULI

"WHEN I get to Lisbon," I told my little friend Marinka in Marseilles, "I'll send you fruits and chocolate." She shook her head earnestly: "Ca n'existe plus." If Marinka still lives, she is a big girl now—all of ten years old. I left Europe two years ago, but I still see her blue eyes and hear her sad grown-up voice. She never went to school, but at eight she spoke five languages, picked up in flight from one country to another. Her father was a Czech engineer; her ancestors were peasants settled in Bohemia for hundreds of years. Marinka was one of some 8,000 refugee children being cared for in France by various agencies before Hitler took over the whole country. Their present fate is unknown. It is often assumed that most refugees are Jews, but these were the children of the persecuted of all lands—of Spanish Loyalists interned in France, of Polish, Dutch, Belgian, or French fugitives driven from their homes by the Blitzkrieg, of patriots and anti-fascists and other sinners against Hitler's New Order.

Countless other homeless children, Jews and non-Jews, are scattered throughout Nazi Europe and the Near East. Last year the Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish welfare agency known as "Joint" to a million people for whom it is the last hope, got 270 out of Rumania and Hungary with the aid of the International Red Cross. At present 800 are in Iran awaiting passage through Iraq; they came from Siberia but are Polish, their parents having fled into Soviet territory when Poland was overrun. A month ago the J. D. C.'s representative in Lisbon cabled, "Succeeded after great effort in effecting release approximately eighty women and children from Gerona and Figueras prisons." This number represented about one-tenth of the total held in Spanish camps and city jails.

Until last November, however, there were more child victims of Hitler in France than anywhere else, for the simple reason that the Third Republic had been the only country in Europe to grant asylum without asking for money or bail. The first group crossed the Rhine in 1936. Almost wholly Jewish, most of them orphans of concentration-camp "suicides," they were cared for by a Jewish social agency known as the O. S. E., which housed them in a model home in Paris. In 1938, the year of *Anschluss* and "peace in our time," there was an influx from Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, as well as Germany, and the O. S. E. branched out, founding homes in the provinces of France and boarding children with French families. In the first year of war its activities could still be called normal social work. The deluge came with the Nazi drive to the west, when hordes of fugitives from Holland, Belgium, and northern France filled the roads leading south.

After the armistice and the emergence of Vichy from the ashes of the French Republic, the Line of Demarcation seemed the frontier between hell and heaven.

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Throughout 1940 children of all ages often reached it alone; desperate parents had simply told them to walk "south and keep walking. Many knew only one name to ask for—"O. S. E." But the line was at best the border between hell and purgatory, for it became Vichy practice to inform the O. S. E. that children who had crossed it would be sent back unless taken into its homes at once. When this condition was fulfilled, French police often raided the hostels to "remove refugees over sixteen." Some children thus kidnapped for deportation were actually no more than twelve.

The O. S. E. homes—eventually there were twelve in the "free" zone, one in Paris, and one in Bordeaux—were constantly filled to overflowing. Troops of little *éclaireurs*—French Jewish boy scouts—came marching in close order to seek their sanctuary. When the Jews were expelled from Alsace-Lorraine and 2,000 more children were made homeless, the O. S. E. set up children's centers and an orphanage in the three departments into which the fugitives were herded. Its *patronages* (welfare centers with day nurseries and canteens) served thousands. Other relief agencies helped: the American Unitarian, Quaker, and Y. M. C. A. missions distributed food and clothing, and the Swiss Aid took full charge of many orphans, though its work was on a smaller scale than that of the O. S. E. The American Red Cross decided that aid to children was not within its province, but a French clergyman, the Abbé Glassberg, founded a special organization, the Amitié Chrétienne, to extend Christian charity to these innocent victims of Nazi wrath. Nevertheless, distress continued to grow at a pace which no efforts to alleviate it could match.

It had been evident since 1939 that permanent rehabilitation of the children could only be accomplished by removing them overseas. The J. D. C. in this country succeeded in enlisting the aid of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children, headed by Marshall Field, and of Mrs. Roosevelt. The time, however, was unfavorable. The English children fleeing from the blitz absorbed the country's attention. Besides, some relaxation of immigration rules was a prerequisite, and this, just before election, could hardly be proposed. No action was obtained in 1940, but the O. S. E. in France, to prepare for a favorable decision, selected from among its charges 1,000 who were "suitable for emigration by state of health, self-reliance, and physical and mental development."

Self-reliant they were, indeed. Manfred, for instance, had fled alone from his native Berlin when his father was deported to Poland in the 1938 pogrom, wandered through Holland and Belgium, and reached France just ahead of the *Panzer* columns. There he had been arrested as a "spy," acquitted, and interned, and finally he had almost died of typhoid in a camp in southern France. All he wanted, he wrote, was to "begin life over in America." Manfred was thirteen.

Early in 1941 the United States State Department finally granted 500 special "children's rescue visas." The children were waiting; passage, funds, American homes were arranged. But now a new problem arose—that of escorts. Months of consideration were necessary before thirty-five qualified ladies could be hired. The first transports arrived here in the summer of 1941. One little boy just off the ship was asked, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" "When I grow up," he said, "I want to be the man who gives the visas."

After 200 children had been brought over, their transportation ceased. There was fear of torpedoings; and besides, the Portuguese lines, whose vessels were the only ones available, had not always complied with immigration rulings.

Last summer the Nazis began to bear down on Jews and other refugees in the occupied countries of Western Europe. Mass deportations to the east were ordered. The victims were rounded up and herded together for transport like cattle in a stockyard; in Paris the stockyard was the famous bicycle racetrack, the Vélodrome d'Hiver. In the third week of July, 1942, and again in August the Vélodrome was more like hell than anything else the human mind can imagine. There was one lavatory in the place, and the seats were too high for small children; if they relieved themselves elsewhere the guards beat them. The children could not be washed; measles and scarlet fever broke out, but the German army doctors who were called in termed the cases "unclear" and refused to order segregation. When the trains were made up, adults and children were sent separately. A French eyewitness wrote, "Il fallait brutaliser les méres pour les faire ouvrir les bras."

For weeks after the roundups children of from two to five years were found in and near Paris in the streets, in cellars, in abandoned rooms. There was no way of identifying them. They were deported—"destination unknown."

A number of children managed to escape from these horrors to unoccupied France. Many were caught and returned, but others swelled the small army cared for by the O. S. E. and the Swiss and American relief organizations. At the same time, as a result of French revulsion at the pogroms and intervention by Catholic prelates, chiefly the Archbishop of Lyons, the Vichy authorities were releasing small groups of children from the internment camps, mainly from Gurs and Rivesaltes. The latter also housed the Spanish Loyalists' children, interned since 1938. There were not many children at Gurs, the O. S. E. reported, "since the greater part of them had been transferred to Rivesaltes, a number had died, and about 100 had been released."

One consequence of the Paris atrocities was the re-

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sumption of rescue sailings to America, 300 of the special visas being still available. Representatives of the Marshall Field committee selected fifty-five children to sail on the Portuguese liner Serpa Pinto in May, 1942. Of the fifty who left eventually for Lisbon, twenty-seven were Jewish refugees and twenty-three Spaniards. Social workers in France called them the "camp group" because all the children had been in concentration camps for longer or shorter periods. A special stop was arranged for their train at a station near Gurs, and the O. S. E. considered itself happy to obtain permission for fourteen mothers, interned there, to come and bid their children farewell, under guard. One of the escorts on the train described the meeting:

> The children that morning knew that they were going to see their parents. Having been in camps themselves, they also knew how meager the food rations were. They did not eat their breakfast. Instead, they wrapped up bread, rolls, and bits of sugar, and when they met their parents, handed the food to them. The case of one little girl was particularly touching. She had been separated from her mother for more than a year, and had forgotten her native German because she had been learning English and French. When she met her mother, possibly for the last time, she could not converse with her. The package containing her breakfast which she handed over was her only way of showing how she felt—that, and the tears which streamed down her face.

The Serpa Pinto reached New York last June 25; the total number of children brought out of France was raised to 250. In August the unused 250 "special rescue visas" expired. On November 11 Hitler occupied the rest of France, sealing all roads of escape. And on November 15 the State Department granted 1,000 new children's visas.

Today some of the rescued children play in Central Park. The game is "prisoners and guards," with the guards beating the prisoners. But these children, the lucky 250, will probably forget.

Ever since November 11 offers to take refugee children have poured in on the various American organizations. Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Turkey, and other countries have agreed to open borders that previously were closed. In Washington, where 250 visas expired unused, 1,000 others lie unusable. American social agencies have had no word from their workers in France since the total occupation—they may have been arrested or shot. As to the children's fate, the worst must be feared. Only a few weeks ago the Polish government reported the execution of 250 children near Warsaw.

The children lie on the rack, undergo the trial. But we, the men and women who could have helped—governments, organizations, individuals—we are the accused. What we have done in the past was too little. What we are eager to do now—must it be too late?

In the Wind

THERE IS a measure of irony in the news that Republicans in Congress want to investigate "the public and private activities" of Harry Hopkins. Hopkins was one of the few among the President's advisers who believed that it did not matter if the Republicans won last year's elections. He urged the Administration against expending much effort on the campaign.

THE EMPLOYEES of a chemical firm in Nashville recently won an NLRB election and began negotiations for a contract. Since 98 per cent of the workers were Negroes, they thought it fitting to ask that Emancipation Day be included among their holidays. This was the only request at which the management balked. After long discussions it held firm but offered the union New Year's Day instead. The workers accepted, and only after the contract was signed did they remind the employers that Emancipation Day is January 1.

ACCORDING TO the London *New Statesman and Nation*, a shop in Shrewsbury recently started selling inexpensive busts of famous people. The first three in stock were Churchill, Lenin, and C. E. M. Joad, the liberal philosopher. Of the three, Joad, whose appearances on the Brains Trust radio program have earned him a reputation as a sort of British John Kieran, was the runaway best-seller.

KAISER SHIPYARD workers in Richmond, California, are staging a revue called "Hullzapoppin'."

SOME NAZI INDUSTRIALISTS apparently assumed that a German victory would be assured early in 1943. The contract for renewal of relations between American Bosch and Robert Bosch of Germany, the magneto manufacturers, reads: ". . . all agreements are suspended until March 31, 1943, or until the date of the termination of the war—whichever date is the later."

POLITICALLY SPEAKING, the time of day can often be read by noting what bait the *Daily Worker* is using to lure subscribers. At present it is offering a small American flag and a cast of the American eagle. "Show your pride in America," it says, "by draping Old Glory in a corner of your home or office!"

THE NEWSPAPERS said nothing about the marked differences in the volume of applause accorded our several allies when the President mentioned them in his message to Congress. China drew twice the ovation accorded to either the British or the Russians, and mention of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek brought down the house.

THE EIREAN PUBLISHING COMPANY of New York is offering a book which, it is claimed, proves that the Bible was written by Irishmen and that Hebrew is only a dialect of Gaelic.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Wanted: A Political Strategy for Asia

BY LIN YUTANG

I AM a believer in the Hindu idea of *Karma,* the doctrine of actions accompanied by their natural necessary consequences. In religion, it means retribution or divine justice. But in secular terms it means simply that we reap what we sow, that our present actions are determined by our previous actions and habits of thought, and they in turn produce certain reactions both on ourselves and others that we shall not be able to escape from in the future. *Karma* is no more than the law of cause and inescapable effect in the human realm of moral action. Buddha himself put this very well in clear psychological terms in the very first sentence of the "Dhammapada": All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded upon our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. Our political strategy today is based upon our past concepts of Asia, from which we cannot escape; and by our very actions today we are producing long-term political effects, real though invisible, from which our sons and grandsons shall benefit or suffer. It is my profound conviction that the course of Asia in the next decades is being determined here and now.

At present, no one but the Germans and the Japanese has a well-thought-out philosophy of war regarding Asia. It is remarkable that Haushofer himself has made "Monsoon Asia" and the Pacific the dynamic point of his geopolitical thought, that he has in concrete terms advocated a Eurasian transcontinental bloc as the ultimate aim of German power politics, and that he has seen the political value of allying the forces of Central Europe with the Asian independence movement ("Asia for the Asiatics") as a means of destroying the Anglo-American hegemony. It may be a godless philosophy, showing the last spasms of a dying deterministic and materialistic *Weltanschauung*; but it is a philosophy. We have not a philosophy of war or of peace anywhere to match it in its concrete global conceptions. What Germany is today is the result of what German Nazi leaders have thought; what we are doing to Asia today, as embodied in our political actions, is the result of what we have failed to think about Asia.

I cannot believe that the determining concepts of Asia in the brains of our democratic leaders, in contrast with the Germans, have ever gone beyond the Aladdin stage. Asia is no more than an Aladdin, and any specter conjured up of "an aroused Asia" can be received with no more than a half-amused and half-tolerant credulity. So far as our political strategy with regard to Asia hitherto is concerned, we have gone ahead planning our war and our peace whether Asiatics like it or not.

Two test cases make this apparent, India and China in this war. The impression is inescapable that we take the attitude that what the Indians think and feel does not matter, that we have sufficient force to quell the Indian rebellion, that the Congress leaders are safely in jail and out of harm's way, and, that being the case, that the situation is perfectly satisfactory. All we need to do is to defend India for the Indians out of a sort of *noblesse oblige;* in fact, we are stationing English troops in India for the very altruistic purpose of saving her from bloodshed and chaos. As if the denial of the Atlantic Charter to the Indians was not enough, and "lest there be any doubt in any quarters about it," Churchill declared the British war aims very classically in six words, "We mean to hold our own."

This point of view would be perfectly satisfactory for me if it were a private war between England and Germany. As the war happens to be not only a private war between Germany and Britain, but involves Americans, Russians, and Chinese, such a declaration produces a confusion among all the Allies and serves only to demonstrate that politically the Allies are marching out of step. There is no unified political strategy for Asia. So far as Asia's participation in this war is concerned, no greater damage could be done to the Allied cause than the six brief homely words with which Churchill expressed, I hope incorrectly, the war aims of the English people. What U Saw saw and the Japanese saw, Churchill simply did not see. And if I interpret Churchill's words correctly, Britain is fighting a twentieth-century war in order to take off its boots after the war and climb into a nineteenth-century bed comfortably mattressed in India, Burma, Singapore, and Hongkong. There must be thousands of English people who think differently; if these liberals fail to speak out for the true England, they are doing a great disservice to their country and to the Allies. Since Churchill is too good a man to retract what he says, it will take not a few but a hundred English voices of the true England to counteract the harm he has done to the cause of the Allies. Unless indeed what Asia thinks does not matter.

The case of China throws into even greater relief the confusion arising from an inadequate political strategy

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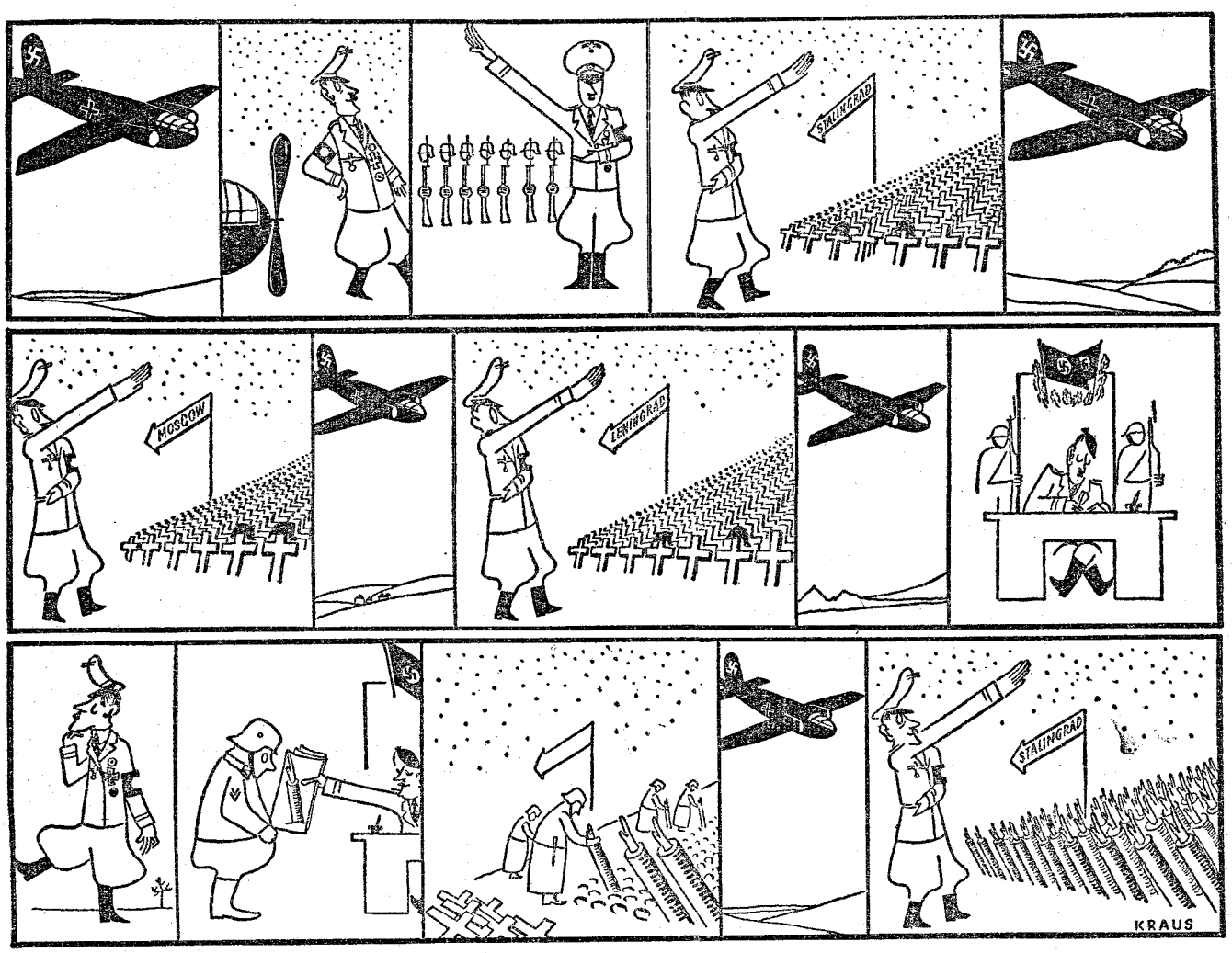
for Asia. The complexity of the problem of India is matched by that of the political motives controlling Anglo-American policy toward China. The Atlantic Report in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January, which gives the best analysis of policy and consequences in Asia so far published, underscores the complexity of these motives. It says, "There is every reason to believe that the China front has been neglected for political rather than purely military reasons." It emphasizes that "this division of political attitudes toward Asia would be less alarming if it were not reflected in strategy." "Suspicions of China arise from ignorance of the Far East and from fear that a strong China and a strong Russia might develop aggressive tendencies. Hence the reluctance to crush Japan. Hence the argument that the course of wisdom consists in maintaining a strong Japan in order to block the ambitions of our present allies." We are still victims of power politics which frustrate our will to get together and fight and dream together for a better world to live in. Professors of geopolitics are lecturing at the army camps and injecting this godless Germanic poison into the minds of American boys.

On the surface, it would appear to be a sort of mystery that the China front, which by every sound conception of military and air strategy should be the primary front against Japan, should become the forgotten front; that China should receive 2 per cent of the lend-lease aid which is 12 per cent of the total American war production; that China should be asked to wait patiently under conditions of fantastic inflation and isolation from supplies for another three or four years until Europe's trouble is resolved, and that Japan be allowed the same number of years to consolidate her Greater Asia man-power and resources. It is also fantastic to believe China's offer of help in military strategy against Japan is not wanted, or that a unified strategy against Japan with China has not been formed a year after Pearl Harbor, or that the present Burma campaign is being planned without the knowledge of, or consultation with, available Chinese officers sitting in Washington. It would be like planning the restoration of the Atlantic sea lanes for England after their loss without consulting England.

No single factor can account for this anomaly, for which American boys will have to pay dearly with their lives when the time comes for crushing Japan. It would be entirely incorrect to infer that it is not America's determination to crush Japan when the preparations are ready. Part of the cause is to be found in ordinary bungling, and in the necessity for time in clarifying our ideas about a complex subject, and part of it is just *Karma,*



Drawing by H. Felix Kraus

SALUTE ON THE EASTERN FRONT

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the accumulated mental inertia in the underestimation of Asia. But we must not assume that our political leaders are just "dumb" political blockheads.

The fact is, when there is no unified and clarified political strategy toward the role of the Asian world in our post-war visions, the result is not absence of political strategy but a confusion of lame and halting strategies. It is inevitable that there should be divisions among any allies, and it is natural that each nation should think first of its own interests. Obviously, Hitler is a greater danger to England than Japan, while Japan is a greater danger to China than Hitler. Obviously also, American revulsion against Hitler is more against his ideology and more intellectual, while revulsion against Japan is more instinctive and based on the realities of the future of the Pacific area. It would be true to say that a small percentage of Americans hate Germans as Germans while a large percentage hate the Japs as Japs. But we must also think for England. It is obviously to England's disadvantage to crush Japan before she finishes with Hitler. If Japan should be crushed now while England has her hands full with Hitler, what would happen to Singapore and Hongkong and the whole Pacific area when Japan evacuates? Clearly American influence would predominate. On the other hand, supposing England wishes to crush Japan completely, she would wish to have her own soldiers on the spot in sufficient strength when Hongkong and Singapore and the whole Pacific area are being reoccupied. That can be only when Hitler is liquidated, and the entire R. A. F. can move to Asia.

Problems immediately arise when a conquered area is recovered. I have far too much respect for England's political sense to believe that she wishes her own disadvantage by defeating Japan too early. And when Russia's shadow looms too large, power politics, or what they call political "realism," requires a strong Japan to check a strong Russia. That is where the danger lies, the very seed for a terrible war hereafter, and that is why we liberals cannot go on with the innocent assumption that our diplomats are just unthinking blockheads. Following again the doctrine of *Karma*, I believe our political thinking today is sowing seeds whose fruit we shall reap only a few years from now. Nothing less than a reeducation of our power politicians or their removal from positions of power can save the world for a common peace. I refuse to believe that the power politicians who were associated with the London Non-Intervention Committee or with the Munich era are capable of getting out of the ruts of their thinking at this time of their life and devising for us anything other than an illusory peace of power politics.

Whatever the motives for ignoring both India's and China's part in planning the grand strategy of this anti-Axis war, the fact stands out that a condition of deplorable confusion in Allied political strategy toward Asia exists. This confusion and the division of mind are making a sane and sound, logical plan for defeating Japan with the minimum cost impossible; on the other hand, they are causing a dangerous gamble with a consolidated and well-intrenched Japan and an isolated and disgruntled China. This confusion regarding Asia is closely related to the confusion regarding Russia. This confusion also paralyzes any willingness to create an Allied Supreme War Council, at least with the participation of Russia and China as equal partners, and results in the exclusive domination by Britain and America of war conduct and strategy. It is now clearly established that Anglo-American domination of the war existed in 1942, with no pretense of equality for the other United Nations. It is further clearly established that the strategy born of this Anglo-American domination is not entirely free of the suspicion of placing certain national interests above the common interests of all allies, and that even American and British aims in Asia and the Pacific are not the same. If, for instance, the broad policy of "defeating Hitler first" had been fairly discussed and decided upon in an Allied Supreme War Council with China's proper representation, instead of being arrived at arbitrarily by America and England, China would have less ground to complain, since this decision really involves and practically decrees at least three years of prolonged and intense suffering on China's part. Is this type of Allied leadership merely the continuation of the old big-power leadership at the League of Nations?

It is impossible not to draw the inference that Anglo-American domination of the war means Anglo-American domination of the peace and the post-war world. It is also unconvincing to tell the United Nations that there will be equality among the nations in the peace when there is not even a pretense of equality among the United Nations, or even the nations actually fighting during the war.

HOW TO BE A GOOD SPANIARD

In spite of the continued overtures of Britain and the United States, General Franco's anti-appeasement policy goes on unchecked. The latest expression of fascist Spain's feeling for Britain is contained in a leaflet published by the Phalanx, of which Franco himself is now the leader. The leaflet sets forth "Ten Commandments for a Good Spaniard." One commandment runs: "Do not spread false rumors and slanders, for they are invented in criminal fashion by the British Secret Service." Another is: "Do not forget that Great Britain is responsible for everything evil which your country is compelled to suffer." A third is: "Think daily of Gibraltar and swear to regain it." A fourth is: "Hate England and pity the English."

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Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ON NEW YEAR'S DAY the Führer told his people two things about the enemy. In one place in his speech he said the Allies had hypocritically promised a heaven on earth to Germany; a few sentences farther on he said they were preparing a veritable hell for it. In the earlier passage he asserted that the enemy was "seeking to befog the German people with empty words . . . to undermine their morale with lying hypocritical phrases"; and then later, "the enemy has proclaimed his intention to tear German children from their parents, to butcher millions of young men, to split up the Reich and exploit it when it is helpless."

The truth is that Allied propaganda is so on its guard against making any commitments that it promises Germany absolutely nothing; it is often criticized for just this by persons who advocate dangling alluring peace terms before the German people. But neither has it ever played with the idea of revenge; the subject has never been mentioned by official spokesmen and very seldom by private individuals. In any case most Germans would think it improbable that the enemy would simultaneously use two methods that nullified each other. This was the mixture, however, out of which the Nazi leaders concocted their holiday meditations—not only Hitler but Goebbels and a host of lesser figures.

One ingredient of the mixture, the threatened hell on earth, needs no elaboration here. The horrible fate Germans must expect if they are defeated has often been cited to stimulate their will to win. It is the propaganda bureau's ace of trumps. On the other hand, the frequency and violence of the polemics against the siren song of a future heaven on earth are new. Evidently fresh cracks have appeared in the home front, and it is feared that the people may be taken in by the enemy's seductive promises. Of course their lowered morale is really due to the war's turn for the worse, but the Nazi leaders are trying to instil the notion that it stems from the enemy's lying insinuations. If the people can be convinced that the cause of their depression is a falsehood, they will struggle against it with a better heart.

The most interesting feature of the new "propaganda against propaganda" is that England and America are always singled out as the deceivers and never Russia. Russia is a threat to life and limb, but only the Anglo-Saxons are attacking Germany's virtue. Russia is simply a murderous foe, while the Western Allies are craftily trying to ensnare the German soul. This counter-propaganda has been gathering volume in recent weeks, but never once, so far as the present writer can discover, has it dwelt on Russian trickery. Repeated warnings are issued against listening to the broadcasts from London, but none against those from Moscow.

The Nazis have been building up a defense against Anglo-American propaganda ever since Hitler drew his distorted picture of Germany's betrayal in 1918. Actually, of course, Germany's capitulation was brought about almost exclusively by the military situation, not by a psychological breakdown. But if there were any contributing psychological factors, the most important was undoubtedly the influence of the Russian Revolution. For Hitler, however, British propaganda, or rather Woodrow Wilson, was to blame for everything. It was Wilson who "with his Fourteen Points managed to bring about the spiritual disintegration of the unconquered German people and thus their destruction."

Now as then, according to the Nazi spokesmen, the American President seeks to make a dupe of Germany—of course in vain. "Wilson rendered the German nation forever immune to any second attempt. Since his time the word of an American President has counted for nothing. . . . Had the Germans in 1918, instead of putting their faith in Wilson's phrases, continued the fight with iron determination, the hostile forces encircling us would have collapsed." Today Germany is well aware that it must resist the siren song of the "English and American Jews."

The gentlemen in Berlin must have noticed that the German *Stimmung* was being infected by foreign bacilli, and that these bacilli were of western, not eastern, origin. They must have become convinced that the democracies, not the *Soviets,* exert an attraction on German minds. There is no other explanation for the fact that their propaganda against propaganda is directed solely against the American-English output.

Double Play in Hungary

ACCORDING to a dispatch from the Stockholm correspondent of the New York *Times,* Hungary wishes to recall its five divisions from the Voronezh sector in Russia "for a rest," and also requests the return of some 30,000 farm workers, who, it submits, might be used as hostages.

On the same day the Paris radio, as reported by the Associated Press, quoted a statement to Parliament by the Hungarian Minister of War. "Hungary will not content herself with fighting Bolshevism on the eastern plains," he said, "but will also fight it in Western Europe."

To anyone not familiar with the dual policy of the Horthy gang it might seem that Premier Kallay and his Minister of War were in open disagreement. Actually the Minister was speaking for Nazi consumption, while the official propagandist, from whom the first statement emanated, had in mind the recent successes of the United Nations. Perhaps if the latter prove responsive, Horthy will be permitted to resign in favor of Otto, and Hungary—as an "innocent victim of Nazi aggression"—will retain its share of the loot snatched from its three neighbors—Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Slovakia.

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File and Remember

[Each week on this page we shall print items, short and long, taken from the British press and, less frequently, from the press of other Allied or neutral countries. This week we have clipped comments on the Beveridge plan.]

Will the Tories Swallow It?

IN GENERAL there is not the smallest doubt that the Beveridge plan is worth backing through thick and thin. It would be easy to pick holes in it . . . but what fundamentally matters is that it lays the right foundations. . . . Yet, as Sir William himself reminds us, social security . . . is by no means everything. . . . It was not within Sir William's reference to deal with the wages men are to receive when they are at work. . . . But clearly his plans will break down unless wages are raised in the worse-paid occupations; and an all-round minimum wage law is a necessary complement to it. No less clearly will it break down unless the state follows in general economic policy a program of "full employment," so as to reduce within manageable limits the numbers of the unemployed, and to make earning, and not living on social-security benefits, the normal way of life for all able-bodied persons.

The great question for the immediate future is: Will the Tories swallow the scheme? The likeliest guess would seem to be that, in the main, they will, but that they will try to whittle it down. . . . The Tories will probably try to preserve the vested interest of industrial assurance, and the approved societies with it, if they dare. But Sir William's case is so overwhelming that they may not dare if the Labor Party and untied publicists are sufficiently vocal and determined on the other side.—The *New Statesman and Nation* (London).

A Guilty National Conscience

In a general sense the decision to allow a report on social conditions to appear at this time was the work of a guilty national conscience. No return to the conditions of the past was thought possible. The left was demanding the pledge of a new world. The right—in the days of military inactivity—realized the perils of withstanding concession. No doubt they believed that a goodly array of burnished platitudes would stay the avalanche of public opinion until they were stronger for the fight and until their conscience had relapsed into its old accustomed inertia. Nothing else can explain the political lunacy, from their own point of view, of Mr. Churchill and his friends, which has tolerated the publication of Sir William's findings. For the mouse has been in labor and has brought forth a mountain. . . .

The issue will have to be fought on the political battlefield. For the men who brought Britain back to the gold standard at the behest of the financiers in 1925, the men who employed every weapon in their armory against the general strike, the men who reduced unemployment pay in 1931, the men who tolerated the distressed areas, are still alive, and as the prospect of military defeat begins to fade are starting to kick.

It will still be a battle, but we must thank Sir William for a weapon. And if it be asked how it happens that a reformer so sedate has been able to fashion a weapon so sharp, and how a government so timid should have presented materials for its fashioning, we must answer in the famous words of Karl Marx that "war is the locomotive of history."—The *Tribune* (London).

No New Principle

The implications of its proposals, viewed as a whole, reach far. Yet they involve no new departure in principle from the policies and methods which have characterized the development of the British social services during the last half-century. The prescription is for "a British revolution," in which the experience of the past and its tested institutions and the creative insight of adventurous minds both have their full shares. . . . The value of the report is greatly enhanced by the fact that it does not confine itself to the recommendation of an expansionist policy for the social services. It comes to grips with the task of bringing order and consistency, convenience and efficiency into the confused situation which has resulted from forty years of uncoordinated social legislation. . . . The government has been presented with an opportunity for marking this decisive epoch with a great social measure which would go far toward restoring the faith of ordinary men and women throughout the world in the power of democracy to answer the imperious needs of a new age.—The *Times* (London).

Freedom from Want

The Beveridge "Plan for Social Security" will stir up more controversy—and raise more hopes—than any project for social change since Mr. Lloyd George's National Health Insurance Bill of 1911. . . . Those who resist change should also reflect that this is a very different England from that of thirty years ago. It is an England that cannot be frightened by the bogy of state action. . . . If [the Beveridge plan] is carried through by the government, as in all its essentials it surely must be, it will be the redemption, on a large section of the home front, of the promises of the Atlantic Charter. It will go far toward securing for the British people "freedom from want," and, completed by a really national health service and by determined attempts to prevent cyclical mass unemployment, it will greatly strengthen our democracy by raising the happiness and well-being of "the common man."—Manchester *Guardian*.

The Communist Position

Sir William Beveridge . . . is at pains to point out that the recurrence of mass unemployment would destroy the financial basis of his proposals. Although the security that the people seek can only be finally gained in a Socialist society, the adoption of the report would safeguard the population from sheer physical want. It would establish new and valuable standards and strengthen the determination of the people to maintain and raise them.—*Daily Worker* (London).

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Mr. Straight Faces the Future

MAKE THIS THE LAST WAR: THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS. By Michael Straight. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

THIS is a good book about the most important thing in our lives—the war and the peace. Persons who buy Mr. Straight's passionate volume should send it on to friends in the armed services to read when they are through with the funnies.

> Soviets in Russia—Cooperative Councils in China—Communal Councils in India—Neighborhood Councils in Britain—town meetings in America—revolutionary democratic cells underground in occupied Europe. Surely this in itself is a thrilling signal that we are on the right track at last. . . . Blindly, haltingly, the world is feeling its way toward one common end.

Here is an example of naive immaturity. There are more numerous examples of brilliance and fine intuition. The book is obviously the result of hard work, solid thinking, and courage. It probes the problems of peace more profoundly than any other book recently published in America.

Mr. Straight deals with the advantages that flow from United Nations collaboration, and cites some piquant facts on the lessons which the several armed services have learned from the combat experience of their allies. He also dissects the shortcomings of United Nations agencies. Here Mr. Straight's observations in Washington offer a one-sided yet valuable background.

It is in the treatment of peace problems, however, that Mr. Straight makes his biggest contribution. Despite the unreality which sometimes accompanies an emotional approach, Mr. Straight is actually a realist, because instead of starting at the roof or façade and splitting hairs about whether the future world structure should be a pentagon or a hexagon, instead of first tackling the question of what to do about the defeated countries, he feels that peace begins at home. The next peace cannot be better than the governments which make it. Nations create peace treaties in their own image. We ourselves must change if we expect to change the world so that the world can keep the peace. Advancing his scheme for the development of the Eastern Hemisphere, Straight says: "But again all these plans are meaningless in the absence of great social changes in Britain and America. . . . Only if we reach a new level of democracy can democracy be realized in Asia and Africa with our aid." The first question to be answered is not whether India is ready for freedom but whether we are ready for the freedom of India. If England remains the old England it cannot relinquish its empire. The prime requisite of a solid peace is the emergence during the war of a new England and a new America as part of a new world.

Straight wants a federated Europe, pivot of a federated world, but holds that "unless there is a fundamental change in the social structure of Europe there will be no basis for European federation." His outline of this social change is sweeping and concrete. Generally speaking, he is a 145 per cent New Dealer who would retain war-time emergency measures long after the war ends. He apparently is not afraid of the bad effect which omnipotent, omnipresent governments usually exercise on human rights and individual freedom.

The stress of this book is on world organization. Peace, economic well-being, and social progress demand world organization, Straight contends. Colonial empires must cease, he feels, and be replaced "by the democratic development of former colonial territories by a world authority. In no other way can social progress everywhere in the world continue." Straight's detailed analysis of the relationship between imperialism and the world's future contains much that would give a longer view to myopic Americans. He does not imagine, as some innocents abroad do, that the British Empire or any empire will disappear by the process of voluntary self-liquidation. He quotes a recent speech by J. M. Keynes to the effect that after the war Britain must increase the volume of its exports "by at least 50 per cent compared with 1938." "There can be no if's about it," Keynes emphasizes. "Without it our hopes for the future are sunk." Unless a reorganization of the world's economy gives those exports to England it will not surrender its empire. And who could blame it? The problem of imperialism, which, as Straight demonstrates, is the key to peace and prosperity, cannot be solved by one nation's renunciation. It can only be solved through world organization.

One of the shortcomings of this provocative book is the absence of any adequate treatment of the possible role of Russia in the peace. Straight assumes that England, America, Russia, and China will have the same general interests in forging the peace. I wonder. He believes that "when this war ends we shall hold power of life and death over Europe and Asia. We shall be able to influence Soviet policy through the use of relief supplies." I doubt this very much. He does not know Moscow's resentment of foreign pressure. Even after the terrible 1921 Volga famine, with Russia and bolshevism weak, the Hoover American Relief Administration could not budge Soviet policy. But there is much in this book to compensate for its deficiency in respect to Russia.

I must take issue with Straight's thesis that "it is the new world or defeat." In other words, if we do not change during the war we shall not win the war. I wish that the fear, or hope, that this is true could serve as an added incentive to establish that new society which alone can guarantee a better life. But suppose we win with the old world. The fact is that our victories so far have tended to reinforce the old world against the new. Vice-President Wallace says fine things, but the moment the United Nations won in Egypt and landed in North Africa, Churchill demoted the progressive Cripps and announced that he would not liquidate the British Empire. Our offensive in North Africa was the occa-

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sion for a flowering of Darlanism. It may therefore not be true that we can win only if we first build a new world. We may win with the old world and thus lend it greater resistance to change. That is why the joy of many Americans over our military successes has been mingled with sadness over the political setbacks that accompany those successes.

LOUIS FISCHER

Deep Waters

WILLARD GIBBS. By Muriel Rukeyser. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

LIKE the vast majority of my fellow-citizens, I must take the greatness of Willard Gibbs on faith. Miss Rukeyser calls in various witnesses to testify that he was one of the greatest mathematical physicists of all time, and I see no reason for doubting their opinion. We may also, I assume, take for granted the claim that his theoretical investigations paved the way for the most spectacular of modern chemical achievements; but even so I am still not certain either that he deserves a popular biography or that, if he does, Miss Rukeyser was the person to write it. If there really is anything non-mathematical worth saying about a man who, to an almost unparalleled degree, had no life outside his equations, it would appear that it could safely be said only by someone who began by knowing very thoroughly and precisely what those equations mean—which Miss Rukeyser does not pretend to know. It is obvious that she has worked earnestly and hard to equip herself for her task. She talks as well, perhaps, as any layman could about entropy and the laws governing the energy of a system. But it is hardly well enough to create any assurance that she is competent to speak, as she does at great length, concerning the ultimate philosophic significance of Gibbs's work; and at the risk of being thought an incompetent reader I am bound to confess, not only that I found her book very exceptionally hard going, but also that after I had finished I did not feel that I knew much more than I did before.

Perhaps less than a third of the more than four hundred pages is taken up with an attempt to explain precisely what Gibbs's work consisted of. The remainder is devoted in approximately equal portions to what struck me as irrelevance and rhapsody; the irrelevances consisting of facts about Gibbs's contemporaries, and the rhapsody of often breathless and Orphic generalities about the universe. Granted that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of writing a picturesque life story of a man who spent all his time thinking and who tended to be extremely reticent even about his thoughts, it still seems a bit absurd when one discovers that in a chapter called New Haven Childhood the subject of the biography is barely mentioned while the chapter is devoted to brief sketches of various people who lived in New Haven when Gibbs did. Nor can more be said for the various sketches of bits of American political, industrial, and social history, presented almost in the fashion of Mr. Dos Passos's "newsreels" and dubiously related to the subject by some remark either to the effect that "Gibbs was part of all this" or, much more frequently, "Gibbs had nothing to do with all this." Nor did I, for one, find anything much more satisfying in the rhapsodical parts. The book begins: "Whatever has happened, whatever is going to happen in the world, it is the living moment that contains the sum of the excitement, this moment in which we touch life and all the energy of the past and future. Here is all the greatness of the dream of the world, the pure flash of momentary imagination, the vision of life lived outside of triumph and defeat, in continual triumph and defeat, in the present, alive." And the reader who can take that in his stride had better be warned that there are pages and pages just like it.

Miss Rukeyser has a number of notions—most of them I suspect quite a priori and also antecedent to her investigation of Gibbs—by means of which she hopes to unify the fragments of biography, social history, popularized science, and mystical rhetoric. I am afraid that one of these notions is that "only Euclid looked, etc." Another seems to be that the most significant fact about nineteenth-century America was a conflict between the superficially dominant struggle for the material or the useful and an underlying current of thought which aspired toward the absolute. Still another is that those philosophers who seek inclusive truth, those poets who lose themselves in mysticism, and those scientists who formulate more inclusive laws governing natural phenomena, are all looking for the same thing even though they do not understand one another; or, to put it more specifically, that when Gibbs tries to represent the behavior of chemical energy and heat by means of the same formulas he is really only using a special language to discuss the problem which is also that of the mystic. Now all these notions may at least adumbrate a truth, but it does not seem to me that Miss Rukeyser does much to clarify them. The task of relating to his times a man who had no direct relations with those times isn't an easy one, and neither is the task of explaining the significance of a work which one can only dimly understand. It is pretty enough to say that Gibbs "cut through a forest of axioms" and then to add, "He was, in this, working in the deepest American traditions. From the beginnings, from the European discovery of this continent, we have broken the fastest bonds," etc., etc. But other bold and abstract thinkers have been bold and abstract without an American background, and if, say, Spinoza and Newton were forever voyaging through strange seas of thought alone, what reason is there for doubting that Gibbs might have done so also even if he had happened to be born, as they were, on the other side of the ocean? A climax of absurdity seems to me to be reached in the fifth chapter from the last, which is entitled Three Masters: Melville, Whitman, Gibbs, and in which, by implication at least, we seem to be asked to see the relation between the second law of thermodynamics and the White Whale.

For all I know, the thesis or theses may be good ones. But if a good case could be made out for them it would be, I suspect, by someone who began with a thorough competence in Gibbs's own field and worked outward from an understanding of the core of his thought toward the periphery, where it merged with the thought of others: not, as seems here to have been the case, by someone who began with an O Altitudo! and worked inward toward such comprehension as she could achieve of Gibbs's own immediate concerns and achievements.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Russia at War

THE RUSSIANS: THE LAND, THE PEOPLE AND WHY THEY FIGHT. By Albert Rhys Williams. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS has been in Russia off and on for the past twenty-five years, and has written of his experiences with deep sincerity and genuine human understanding. "The Russians" has the same warmth of feeling as his other books, but in many respects lacks their originality and thoroughness. He has drawn heavily on his past work, and in almost every case he seeks to explain the Russia-at-war of today in terms of the revolutionary Soviet Union which he saw being born in 1917 and watched developing during the years that followed.

Williams's explanation of why the Russians fight is clear and simple—indeed, it is often too simple. For example, a chart of How the U. S. S. R. Is Ruled opposite page 90 pictures the political bureau of the Communist Party as being elected by the Central Committee, the People's Commissars as being elected by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Actually these men, like most important functionaries in the party and the government, are invariably appointed by higher organs rather than elected by lower ones. The Magnitogorsk city secretary of the party was always appointed by higher bodies in Moscow and not elected by the party members of Magnitogorsk. Williams's description leads the reader to believe that the Soviet Union is a functioning democracy in which the people actually choose leaders and policies. Actually it is a well-organized and highly centralized party state in which Stalin and the people around him act "in the interests of the toilers" with virtually no interference from below. The explanation of why the Russians fight is not to be found in the democracy of their state or party apparatus.

Williams's discussion of religion in Russia is interesting. He sums it up in the words of another American: "While we profess a faith, the Russians possess one." Young Russians today are inspired by national heroes rather than patron saints, by revolutionary theory rather than hymns and liturgies, says Williams, and goes on to describe very convincingly the Communist religion which has replaced the old Russian church in the moral fiber of the country.

Russia's role after Germany's collapse is one of the livest questions involved in post-war planning, and Williams makes a number of good points. "As America rejoices to see any country go republican, so Soviet Russia would rejoice to see any country go socialist." In Germany, he writes, the Russians would like to see a regime which would guarantee them against another attack like that of June 22, 1941, and would therefore wish to see Germany move to the left and become a full-fledged socialist state. This point of view is sound, and is not understood by many who call themselves friends of the Soviet Union. For the present Stalinist Soviet government, social revolution in Europe is significant principally in terms of security for the Soviet Union. Williams develops the point by showing the legitimacy of Russia's desire for strategic frontiers. The author is cautious, however, and does not locate specifically the frontiers which Russia should legitimately receive.

Williams oversimplifies very noticeably in his remarks on Soviet-American relations. The Russians, he states categorically, are giving us the benefit of their battle experience. Many American army officers are today losing sleep because American observers, owing to the irksome secretiveness of the Soviet military and government authorities on all questions, military and economic, are not permitted to watch even American lend-lease equipment in action in Russia.

Williams's basic thesis is summed up on the last page of his book: "In their defense of Moscow and Leningrad, the Russians are fighting in defense of New York and Washington." His book gives the Russians the benefit of every doubt, and cuts many corners in their favor in considering this basic proposition. Objectivity tends to suffer, but by and large the book is fair, and it is of course well written.

JOHN SCOTT

The Poet, the Poem, the Reader

RUINS AND VISIONS: POEMS 1934-1942. By Stephen Spender. Random House. $2.

TOO little has been said in behalf of those readers who find much of modern poetry unintelligible. Although they like and need poetry they do not find the relationship they have learned to expect between themselves and the poem. They know that somehow the lines of communication are down. They feel uncomfortable, bewildered, and the humblest among them conclude that it must be their fault. It is not their fault; most modern poetry is unintelligible.

The fault in serious modern poetry, especially American poetry, that accounts in large part for its unintelligibility is caused by a blocking of the basic process of communication, which demands that a thing must be both felt and understood before it is intelligible and capable of being communicated. When the poet writes only at the level of his feelings, the poem displays merely his own emotion. He has made a beginning, but he has not understood his emotion. He has not communicated what the reader is equally capable of feeling but cannot express. The poet has simply relieved himself of his personal need for creation and selfishly preempted all pleasure. This type of poetry, although superficial, may have considerable merit—as the poetry of Conrad Aiken, for example; it is at any rate readable, since it is generally written in the poetic tradition, from which it derives a kind of unearned increment of meaning. But another and far more fraudulent type of modern poetry is produced when the poet tries to understand his experience before it has been digested by his feelings. Then the poem displays in sterile abstractions (*disjecta membra*) what the poet has neither fully felt nor understood. He has not even made a beginning. The natural emotion he started with but did not completely experience betrays him; the melodic line is fouled by fragments of thoughts, and language and syntax are distorted. He has judged what he does not know. Any of the modern "intellectual" poets will serve as an example. They endeavor to interpret the world and all its accidents when the fact is that the very sense of their own personality escapes them. Possessing nothing, they can offer nothing to the reader save their own confusion, and for all their poetical careerism they remain anonymous.

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In both cases the poet in his self-indulgence cuts himself off from the reader, who perhaps better than the poet knows the insufficiency of sensual satisfaction and mental involution. The writing of poetry is difficult in proportion as the need for poetry is unsatisfied, for the substitutes that always come in answer to an unfulfilled need obscure the need itself. The urgent need for poetry is not dispelled by substitutes or by the kind of poetry which is itself a substitute: the journalistic stimulants that pass for poetry, the current poetic sedatives, or the aphrodisiacs that merely jazz up the senses, and the sexes. And in the meantime both poet and reader suffer equally under the accumulation of what has not been communicated.

A poem achieves its purpose when it reconciles the multiplicity of life with the unattainable unity in which the self is liberated. The reconciliation is an act of faith as the metaphor is the reasoning of faith; consequently a poem cannot be proved. Poets have always been concerned with justifying the ways of God to man. Their subject has always been the eternal split between the will and the act. But in an unsettled world where the distance between the individual and society has widened and individualism itself is no longer a virtue, there seems to be a double split. In order to know his own nature the poet is forced to burrow deeper and deeper inside himself. The continual burrowing-within makes it increasingly difficult for him to reach outside himself. And while the split widens, the ever-retreating self, as if in imitation of the larger world, uncovers its own chasms of incertitude and separation. It is not until the poet, with complete integrity, reaches outside himself that the poem can be communicated. Then it includes and transcends both poet and reader and still preserves the personal nature of the poet.

Spender's poetry bristles with all the important points in the strange and curious relationship between the poem and the poet. He lives so close to his experience that it is pertinent to consider his personality in relation to his poetry. Just as his poems are battles of opposing forces, and just as the best of his poems revolve around the idea of separation, so the personal counterparts of the conflicting forces fight within him for union. Spender struggles for a personal unity he does not and cannot possess. He is driven by a longing to accept himself as he is, down to his last labeled weakness, but refuses to do so because to accept himself would mean escaping full knowledge, and therefore full judgment, of his weakness and would consequently violate his essentially personal test for truth. In the exhausting struggle that ensues between judgment and justification, strength and weakness fight each other, everything turns to its opposite, and he is always betraying and being betrayed. "The iron arc of the avoiding journey/Curves back upon my weakness at the end."

To Spender it would seem that even the realization of anything but a continual progression means death, a way of life that is a continual escape—not death, but psychological murder to the sound of constant violence. The fact that his struggle is in part willed is reflected in his unsuccessful poems and may perhaps account for the superficial similarity of his best and his worst work. But the virtue must be measured by the propelling need, and for Spender it is to fight through to an intelligible explanation of what is happening to his world in terms of what is happening to himself. He

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IS MAJORITY RULE A SOUND PRINCIPLE OF GOVERNMENT?

Wm. Crocker

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writes in the excitement in which he lives and tries to connect what he irreducibly is with what continually acts upon him. When he connects, the conflict is resolved, the poem is communicated, and his uncompromising honesty, his understanding and pity really function. When he does not connect, the conflict comes to no end or ends in a false truce, the poem is not communicated, and his virtues are discredited by his fears.

In a more settled period there would be a more economical expenditure of creative energy. There would be no need for Spender to create his own life and justify each stick and stone. The outside world would provide a frame for his personality, and he would be content to develop his poetry within its limits. He would not have to live his poems in order not to betray them.

Most of the sixty-seven poems in this collection will not be remembered; some of them, the greater part of the more recent ones, cannot even be read with pleasure. The best poems are in Part Four of The Still Center and in Part One: A Separation of "Ruins and Visions." They are wonderful. One closes the book with the feeling that the mere reading is only a beginning—that the poems will quicken into new life as they become part of experience and their total meaning is rediscovered. Through some such metempsychosis the excitement of a poem turns into working knowledge. (So few modern poems can wait long enough to be understood.) The Double Shame, Darkness and Light, The Separation, The Human Situation, Variations on My Life, A Wild Race—these are among the poems that will rise to Spender's name. The material is so completely mastered and under control that it is transformed into a simple outpouring of emotion. Moving tranquilly, with increasing lucidity, the poems proceed from the individually restricted confusion and despair to the general tragedy of understanding. In the last stanza of The Double Shame, for instance, there is a sudden breath-taking release, as if a wilderness of struggling and ungovernable matter has been dominated. When that happens, there is a rush of music, a "fall down shafts of love/Into the abyss of something human." The poem is over; it has really ended. There are other poems besides these six where Spender is "vitally metaphorical," to use a phrase of Shelley's, a poet whom Spender recalls in many ways. This is the fourth stanza of Two Armies:

> Finally, they cease to hate: for although hate
> Bursts from the air and whips the earth like hail
> Or pours it up in fountains to marvel at,
> And although hundreds fall, who can connect
> The inexhaustible anger of the guns
> With the dumb patience of these tormented animals?

Spender's unsuccessful poems reveal the effects of the original danger to which he is exposed by his inability to separate himself from his experience. He is so terribly intent on discovering the meaning of his experience that it is difficult for him to see his poems objectively. He is certainly aware of the serious technical shortcomings they display, since he sometimes revises a poem to the point where it bears little resemblance to the first published version; yet excellent as his revisions are, they never turn a mediocre poem into a good one. His excessive use of a series of run-on lines in a long periodic curve becomes monotonous and facile; he over-

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cultivates his favorite poetic plots into mannered and vacant formalism; his sound becomes turgid, his metaphors forced, and he writes like a sentimental schoolboy or, at times, like a corpse. ("I am glad to set down/The first and ultimate you,/Your inescapable soul"; or "For, as your face grew older, there hung a lag/Like a double chin in your mind.") Spender has enough affinity to Rilke to make all talk of influence unimportant. The influence of Rilke is certainly present, but being a natural influence, it is on the whole well assimilated. However, the Rilkean private world-meanings Spender gives to such words as glass and snow do not always come off. The very nature of Spender's poetry demands that his meaning be newly minted; when he draws on his old experience, on what he has already settled and exhausted, his emotion does not flow freely but becomes caked. Considering that he has no principle of order in himself, and that he refuses order by making the "still center" the quest for an absolute ideal, the perfection of his best poems is a curious and altogether overwhelming triumph, the tragic *quid pro quo* of a personal chaos.

H. P. LAZARUS

When Giants Meet

THE GREAT OFFENSIVE: THE STRATEGY OF COALITION WARFARE. By Max Werner. The Viking Press. $3.

MR. WERNER grows in strength with every book he writes. Beginning in "The Military Strength of the Powers" as something in the nature of a statistical advocate of collective security, he proved in his last book, "Battle for the World," that he was quite adequate to the task of describing a war system in motion. In the present work there is so much that is not merely good but positively brilliant that it is useless to seize upon more than the central excellence from which all its other good qualities derive. It is Mr. Werner's grasp of the fundamental war plans of the two giants of Europe, the Reich and the Soviet Union, that gives symmetry and power to his argument. He has warm enthusiasm and deep convictions (and the former sometimes seems to color his estimate of the individual actions); he commands an abundance of facts. What gives his writing its sweep, however, is his orderly root-and-branch conception of the nature of war and of this war in particular.

This reviewer does not accept certain unessentials in the author's exposition. Mr. Werner, for instance, makes an incorrect use of Von Loeb's masterly article on defense, and he does not realize to quite what extent the conception of the so-called Archangel-Astrakhan line was fundamental to the original German war plan. But if Mr. Werner is correct in his main points, and I am certain he is, Hitler's intention, lucidly described in Alvarez del Vayo's article in *The Nation*, Fortress Europe, has already been frustrated.

In a comparison of the campaigns of 1941 with those of 1942 lies an understanding of the disaster that, still in its latent rather than in its catastrophic form, has befallen Hitler in Russia. The battles of attempted annihilation are over; designs for purely territorial conquest and economic acquisition have taken their place. In these finality is not to be sought.

Free Churchill Pamphlet

The new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill against the wishes of Tory reactionaries in Britain. A huge audience in the Albert Hall, London, heard the Archbishop declare for transference of taxes from production equipment to ground values. (See Christian Century, October 7, 1942.) Churchill himself, in a volume recently issued in New York, says: "Who could have thought that it would be easier to produce by toil and skill all the most necessary or desirable commodities than it is to find consumers for them? It is certain that the economic problem with which we are now confronted is not adequately solved, indeed is not solved at all, by the teachings of the textbooks, however grand may be their logic, however illustrious may be their authors." Churchill is also for the taxation of ground rental values.

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If it be objected that Mr. Werner's central conception is not in accord with Stalin's November speech, then the answer is that the Russian leader was speaking to the Germans as well as to the Russians. It is difficult, that is, to accept Stalin's assertion that the German drives in the south were an attempt to carry out a vast outflanking move against the whole of the central Russian front. They were not. They were precisely what Hitler said they were, an attempt to stabilize the Russo-German front and get rid of the ruinous fighting there. And as such they were a confession of failure; the famous war plan had been scrapped for another, for an effort designed to reach a negotiated peace. The Soviet war plan, on the other hand, has never needed alteration. The multiple, limited Russian offensives correspond to a carefully worked-out plan. They grow stronger as the war continues.

It is natural that the author's handling of the Russo-German campaigns should be richer than his treatment of the other fields within the global war. That is not to say that his conceptions are incapable of development. As good and balanced a case for what used to be called a second front, but which is now to be called a western front, is contained in the later chapters. One reads it without the hostility which other presentations have aroused, because Mr. Werner does not convey the impression that the Soviet Union is the only country he cares about. He has a global view of a global war, not a Russian, British, or American view. There are other valuable things in this book, the merits of which are so great that one hopes Mr. Werner will hasten to fulfil the promise implicit in its last chapters.

RALPH BATES

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Steig's Gallery

THE LONELY ONES. By William Steig. Foreword by Wolcott Gibbs. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $1.

WE ARE all lonely. Marx predicted us almost one hundred years ago: alienating society with its alienated members. But we still have some sort of culture in common, and with attitudes popularized by reading and elevated conversation each dramatizes and justifies his loneliness. The titles of Steig's drawings—Who Are All Those Others? I Can't Express It, I Recreated Myself, I Do Not Believe in Misleading People, Why Pick on Me?—are not, as Wolcott Gibbs claims in the foreword, simply clichés expressing the private obsessions by which odd types set themselves off from everybody else. They are the means of self-defense and self-assertion that we all resort to in the various times of our various humors. For just who are the other boys and girls whose humors, according to Mr. Gibbs, are not quite like these? If the "rest of the world" really exists and is not just a class distinction, then Steig's drawings do not mean so much as they seem to. But I think Steig has got us all down, the whole well-informed class of us who read the liberal magazines, the *New Yorker,* and Modern Library books, whose hearts are in the right things.

Never in all history has there been so lonely a mass of people. The peculiar social form this loneliness takes is the convention of unburdening the heart. Tell all, disarm others, and assert yourself. It must be realized that before the eighteenth century there was hardly such a thing. Confession was the furthest one could do. To unburden the heart is to use confession as a weapon, as personality insurance, and not for relief. The gift-bearing Greeks in Steig's gallery are self-assertive even when in postures of surrender.

Aside from the humor, the specific virtue of Steig's drawing is the directness with which he communicates his ideas to paper and our eyes. There is little pause between the impulse and its expression. But just because the shorthand is so quick and so efficient, it is not quite art. What makes cartoons usually something less than art is their dependence upon closed systems of representational signs in which little is ever improvised and reinvented. Line in cartooning is not felt for its own sake but used for conveying concepts. A face is made like this, an arm like that, surprise has exclamation marks, raised eyebrows and popping eyes, put in with a prescribed number of lines curving and meeting in a prescribed way. Steig tries to fight free of the cartoonist's habit and succeeds now and then, as in Why Pretend? People Are No Damn Good, and Meditation Will Reveal All Secrets. These cartoons are so intensely cartoons that they become something more, pure expressions of ideas. (Klee, coming from a different direction, did things similar if on a much higher level.)

But why ask the artist to do something he did not intend; why not take him for what he is? For what he is, Steig is certainly very good, but I am not sure that he is satisfied to be taken just for what he is. He is after a new genre in these psychographs, a new combination of literature and picture, and he does well enough to be judged by severe standards.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

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IN BRIEF

THE COMPLETE ROMAN DRAMA. Edited by G. E. Duckworth. Random House. 2 vols. $6.

This is one of the few books that really do "fill a long-felt need." Outside the Loeb Classical Library there had been no means of making the Latinless reader fully acquainted with Plautus, Terence, and Seneca, to whom the European drama was indebted, for better or worse, far longer and more deeply than to their Greek predecessors. The translations in this edition are better chosen and more readable than most of those in its companion, the Random House "Complete Greek Drama." Most of the Plautus and Terence is done in prose, and all the Seneca in verse that does the old bore ample justice. The editor supplies useful notes and introductions to each play, conscientiously explaining the obscurer jokes. His general introduction, also excellent, makes one of those "cases" for Seneca that beg the fatal question: Would anyone bother with him if the Elizabethans hadn't?

THE ROAD TO VICHY, 1918-1938. By Yves R. Simon. Translated by James A. Corbett and George J. McMorrow. Sheed and Ward. $2.25.

In modern war, propaganda plays the role of artillery preparation, says Professor Simon. He shows how Hitler took advantage of French dissensions to soften up the country, using persons who were thought to be, and perhaps thought themselves, nationalists, but who were really traitors to the best interests of France. This short book is a Catholic warning to the complacent, if any remain, to study the case of France.

THE REVOLUTIONISTS. By Selden Rodman. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.75.

This verse play, say the publishers, is "conceived as the second of a cycle of three long poems on the destination of modern man." About the slaves' revolt in Haiti in 1791, it centers on those two endlessly fascinating figures, Toussaint l'Ouverture and Henry Christophe. The action is rapid and the speech incisively fiery, but the characters are two-dimensional: they exist only as figures in political history, and as symbols of "the destination of modern man." In a word, Rodman's Toussaint is a natural for Paul Muni as Juarez. In structure, too, the work has defects of inexperience: it is really two plays, one about Toussaint, the other about Christophe; the only connecting link is the Cause, which is exploited for twentieth-century significance at every possible moment, and some impossible ones. But the play is certainly stageworthy as an illustrated lecture on politics. It is to be performed in Haiti; one would like to see it nearer home. At least Rodman knows more about dramatic verse, and is less sentimental, than Maxwell Anderson.

DRAMA

Russian Melodrama

"THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE" is a melodrama written by one Konstantin Simonov and presented at the Guild Theater in an "American acting version" credited to Clifford Odets. It is a bustling busy affair thickly populated with heroes and villains, and it is perhaps the best play yet sent us from wartime Europe.

To say that is obviously not to say a very great deal, and I choose my words with care. The piece has considerable topical interest, and there is a certain amount of more or less convincing local color. It is also rather unusually well acted in broad theatrical fashion, even though Mr. Odets does not seem to have been any too successful in concealing the wooden ring of the dialogue. But beyond that there is little to say except that the whole thing is conceived in disarmingly simple terms.

Even before the present war Russian playwrights seem to have taken naturally to melodrama, and they wrote it with a kind of unself-conscious directness. The result is that the present play, like those written twenty years ago to celebrate the Russian Revolution, seems more sincere and less factitious than those recent English war plays in which one feels the condescension of an author deliberately assuming a dramatic unsophistication neither natural to him nor native in the theater for which he is writing. But though all of these things tend to make melodrama acceptable, they do not transform its character. "The Russian People" is still only a melodrama in which stock characters and stock situations are labeled anew and the spectator is asked to forget that they have served many times before to represent other heroes and other causes.

The scene of the action is sometimes an occupied town, sometimes the headquarters of an isolated company holding out across the river. The play ends when the advancing Russians relieve the isolated company and retake the town. Before this event takes place, one has met all the people one would expect to meet and seen happen to them all the things one has expected to happen. There is a heroic commander and of course a heroic young girl with whom he is in love. There is also a veteran of the revolution who is still hale and hearty, an intellectual proud to discover that he can fight, and a cynic who goes with a gallant smile to his certain death. For good measure there are, still further, the sadistic German officer, the cowardly traitor who collaborates with the Germans, and the sniveling traitor who acts as spy. Comic relief is introduced at the appropriate moments, and once the commander pauses long enough to tell how, when he heard Joseph Stalin over the radio urging everyone to "hold fast," it seemed, curiously, as though Stalin were speaking personally to him. The traitors get shot, the sadistic officer is poisoned, the minor heroes also meet their deaths; but the commander survives, and after the war is over he will marry the girl, who, fortunately, was rescued just before she was raped by a German soldier and will probably recover from a minor bullet wound.

Now I have no doubt that every one of these separate incidents has actually happened. Neither, for that matter, do I doubt that each of the sentiments has been felt. When life imitates art it is quite as likely to imitate melodrama or farce as it is to imitate tragedy or comedy. But the fact remains that the author of "The Russian People" very seldom succeeds in convincing us that he is copying life instead of copying plays, and when we are moved by what takes place on the stage we are moved more by what we know than by what he is telling us. If we know enough or feel enough about the present war and Russia's part in it, then his play may seem stirring and terrible. Taken out of its context, it would seem merely violent and stagy. Perhaps it serves a present purpose. But it would mean little to anyone who did not know that it was to some extent actual, and it will mean nothing to a reader ten or twenty years hence who may go to it in the hope of finding out just what the heroism of 1942 was like.

"The Doughgirls" (Lyceum Theater) is a frenetic farce ostensibly about Washington in war time. The intention is obviously to create something in the manner of George Abbott, and perhaps the most important thing to be said is that audiences seem to find it irresistibly

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hilarious. I doubt whether the author himself could give a very clear idea of the plot, in and out of which pompous rubber administrators, girl snipers from Russia, and lascivious admirals wander irresponsibly, and it seems to be taken for granted that any reference to lend-lease is screamingly funny. I should like to go on record, however, as stating that to me "The Doughgirls" goes through all the motions of being funny without very often actually being anything of the sort; the audiences seem to laugh principally because it is so confidently assumed that they will. Most of the dialogue is composed of bits cast into the form of jokes, but the joke, if really present, nearly always eluded me. Take as illustration a single but typical example. When three young ladies discover that each is living in sin, one of them asks, "Is *anybody* in Washington really married?" And another replies, "Yes [pause], Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt!" Now I am well aware that on the vaudeville stage it used to be assumed that any reference to cheese or dill pickles was *per se* funny. But unless the same is now assumed to be true of the Roosevelts, I defy anyone to discover even the skimmed milk of a jest in the passage just quoted.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MUSIC

THE book "Symphony Themes," compiled by Raymond Burrows and Bessie Carroll Redmond (Simon and Schuster, $2.50), is offered not only for reference but for educational—or rather for self-educational—purposes. Three years ago Simon and Schuster were baiting "Men of Music" with the statement that the way to understanding of music was a book "which treats music in the terms of the men who created it." Today they are baiting their compilation of "1,193 principal themes from a hundred of the world's great symphonies" with Deems Taylor's statement (yes, Mr. Taylor is on hand again to do his usual dust-in-the-eyes-throwing job) that those themes are "just what the listener wants to know, and all that he, lay or expert, *needs* to know: the stuff of which symphonies are made." The authors themselves write, with the same deceptive plausibility: "The simple fact is . . . that the best way to understand what music is talking about is to have a simple statement of the subject itself. Most symphonic movements have two or more subjects which can be very quickly stated."

But this isn't simple, it is over-simple: it over-simplifies the symphonic movement in a way that will, if anything, make listening more difficult for the reader. That is, it omits not only the formal design of the movement, which the reader will merely not be aware of, but all the contextual material in which the themes and their developments occur—for example, the material with which a theme or its development may continue before another theme or its development enters or reenters. Not only is the reader unprepared for this contextual material, not only will he ignore it in his preoccupation with themes and developments, but even though he ignores it the space and time it occupies will make it difficult for him to catch the themes and developments that he is intent on. He will find that in the first movement of the "Eroica" the subjects don't occur in the quick succession in which they are stated in the book, and that this makes the business of spotting them—in particular, of spotting the one designated as (6), which he is not told occurs late in the development section—less simple than he has been led to think.

But the book doesn't even do what it undertakes to do—doesn't, that is, give all the themes out of which the symphonies are made. "I can quote you," says Mr. Taylor, speaking of the first movement of Beethoven's "Eroica," "the charming passage where the clarinet, oboe, and flute build a little climax . . . but meanwhile I have forgotten two other phrases that, short as they may be, are undeniably themes." One of these phrases, possibly, is the one beginning at measure 23, with the cross-rhythm that not only is built up right away but is used later, from measure 248, to build up the shatteringly dissonant climax of the development; another may be the figure heard in measure 65, which also is developed immediately and put to further important use in the development, beginning at measure 186; and if they are Mr. Taylor won't find them in the book. Nor will he find the phrase beginning at measure 134, if he means that one; nor the theme in the second movement, beginning at measure 56, which provides the conclusion for the first section; nor the theme with which the coda of this movement begins at measure 209. And while the subject of the fugal passage in this movement is given, the subject of the fugal passage in the second movement of Beethoven's Seventh is not; just as variations 4, 8, 12, 14, and 28 of the concluding passacaglia of Brahms's Fourth are given, but not the other variations. These are only a few of the examples that I found wherever I looked.

There are also questionable omissions, along with even stranger inclusions, in the hundred symphonies—questionable and strange on the basis of the authors' own statement that the group includes "all symphonies that are frequently performed or readily available on records, and many of those which occasionally find their way into concert programs," together with "some of the recent works by native composers, even though their frequency of performance does not yet rank with that of European masterpieces." The book offers, then, all the symphonies of Beethoven, Brahms, Schumann, Sibelius; it offers the Unfinished and C major of Schubert, but also the early and inconsequential Nos. 4 and 5; it offers the last three of Tchaikovsky, but also No. 3; it offers the last group of K. 543, K. 550, and K. 551 of Mozart, and his K. 504, K. 425, and K. 385, but omits the fine earlier K. 338. K. 297, K. 200, and K. 201, which are performed in concerts and are available on records, and includes instead K. 16, K. 110, and K. 444, which I didn't know existed even on paper; it offers a number of Haydn's best but omits the superb No. 92, which is available on records, and No. 88, which is possibly the most frequently performed of all; it offers Shostakovitch's No. 1, but not his Nos. 5 and 6; it omits Mahler's First, Eighth, and Ninth, but includes Glazunov's No. 5, Goldmark's "Rustic Wedding," Vaughan Williams's F minor; it includes Strauss's "Aus Italien" which is never played, and his "Alpensymphonie" which is almost never played, but omits his "Symphonia Domestica" which is played occasionally (and one must question the rigid adherence to the category of symphony that causes such works of Strauss to be included and his tone-poems to be omitted). Rightly it includes works by Roy Harris, Aaron Copland; but when is anyone likely to need the theme of Edward Burlingame Hill's Symphonies Nos. 2 and 3, Edwin Stringham's No. 1, Daniel Gregory Mason's No. 3 ("Lincoln"), Henry Hadley's No. 4 ("North, East, South, West"), Robert Russell Bennett's "Abraham Lincoln" Symphony, or even Howard Hanson's "Nordic" and "Romantic" and No. 3?

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Leaders in Exile

[*A debate on the problem of political leadership among the German emigration was launched in an anonymous article in the Political War section on December 3 and continued with a group of letters from prominent refugees in the issue of January 2. We publish below a further comment on the same subject by Paul Hagen, author of "Will Germany Crack?" and research director of the American Friends of German Freedom.*]

Dear Sirs: Some time during the fifth winter of war, the winter of 1943-44 or later, the Nazi regime will reach its final crisis. The military time-table hardly allows for an earlier date. At least one more year of gigantic losses, destruction from the air, wearing out of machinery, man-power, and productive power will intensify the multiple crises existing in Germany today. There will be an economic breakdown unprecedented in history, accompanied by complete political paralysis. Whatever the last-ditch fight of the Nazi black hundreds may be, the end will be a terrific explosion. Unlike the breakdown of 1918, there will be no Hindenburg to lead an army back, there will be no functioning administration, no organized opposition at home to take over, no unions or other national democratic organizations. The German left, especially labor, will be able to recover faster than any other element in Germany. But even it will emerge from the turmoil in an amorphous state, able at best to set up labor councils and similar organs of local authority; it will not possess nation-wide representation and authority or experienced leadership. There will be radical movements of the starving and desperate masses of people. There will be mass unemployment and millions of war prisoners and imported foreign workers struggling to get out of the country and at the same time millions of German soldiers fighting their way home to escape the fury of the liberated peoples of the formerly occupied nations.

Such is the probable outlook for the coming German revolution. The breakdown of the colossus of the German military and economic machine now ruling Europe will leave a kind of vacuum into which will rush a tornado of upheavals and disoriented movements.

The smoking remnants of the Nazi state will furthermore be compressed into a small territory, something less than that provided by the former boundaries of the Weimar Republic, and open to invasion from everywhere. No matter where the eastern front line may have been established at the time of the defeat, Russian military and political influence will be overwhelming.

These are, briefly, the conditions which will exist when Nazi Germany breaks, and they must be kept in mind when your correspondents' questions* are considered. There is consensus of opinion in the answers so far published that certain German privileged groups and castes, which have been ideological servants of the Nazi conquest, and which might well reproduce the Nazi evil even after the Nazis are gone, should disappear too. There is little chance that these privileged groups of an old world which has gone down in blood and fire will find much support when the war is over. Quislings and Lavals and clerico-fascists are in for a hard time. What an anachronistic idea it is to base the principle of future "legitimacy" on them or to plan for collaboration with them, as some people do!

To answer the second and third questions correctly is therefore of considerable importance. In a people's peace, able to set up lasting conditions of European security and reconstruction, the disarming of Axis fascism should be followed by *disarmament of all the surviving reactionary forces of Europe.* The job is to set free the delayed forces of the democratic revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe, and in Western and Northern Europe to continue the democratic regimes of the pre-Hitler time on a reformed base. I do not think this is a job for "top sergeants," as one of your correspondents suggested, not even for nice American top sergeants. The mere idea smacks of the Teutonic. After the facts are known, after prisons and archives are opened, the judgment of the world about the passive responsibility of the German and Italian people may also change. It will be hard enough to disentangle the economic and political mess the Nazis have left; any blind, vindictive, and punitive action might destroy the basis of reconstruction for a long time and help no one.

Just as fascism was not a specific German sickness, so no simple "German solution" will be possible after this war. Several of your correspondents pointed out that the most adequate form of international, democratic, and peaceful relations after the war, in fact, the only guaranty of collective security, will be a European federation, participating in a world council of the great victorious powers. For defeated Germany there can be no other choice than to maintain peaceful relations with everybody in the decades to come. The problem of the others then will be not to keep it down but to keep it going, as it was in the case of France after Napoleon's defeat. I think history will show that in Europe Germany will get full understanding and real help only from progressive democratic forces, above all from the European labor forces.

I agree with Mr. Schwarzschild only when he says that the "scepter has passed" to others. However, to regard the German emigration simply as an agency for the victorious powers is to misunderstand its function completely. Today it is in a mess as every other emigration is and always has been. Tomorrow the many fine and highly qualified persons it has in its ranks will still have a chance to place their manifold experience at the service of the new militant German democracy which is bound to come, whatever may be the conditions imposed on a defeated Germany. Germany will need devoted helpers. Not looking for a Messiah, as is the fashion today, and not hoping, like the men of Coblenz, to be brought back and restored by foreign power, the emigration will fulfil its tasks of service best where its roots are: in the revived democratic movements of its own nation.

PAUL HAGEN

New York, January 8

* These questions were:

1. What forces in Germany—besides the Nazi Party—do you consider a menace to the peace of the world and to the freedom of the German people? How would you propose to deal with these forces?

2. Are you for a unilateral disarming of Germany and the policing and reeducating of the German people from outside?

3. Are the German people responsible for the material damage caused by Hitler's armies in the occupied countries? Are they under moral obligation to make restitution?

4. What kind of relations do you advocate between post-Hitler Germany and the Soviet Union?

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The Discussion Is Opened

Dear Sirs: Our forefathers settled the problem of religious freedom by insisting that every human being had a right to choose his own faith. The next great problem which presented itself had to do with political freedom, and the Revolutionary War established the principle that men collectively have a right to choose their own form of government. Still later a great discussion arose over the problem of education, and we concluded that if we believed in religious and political freedom, we could ill afford not to educate all our youngsters.

Since then, a new problem has been pushing itself to the front—the problem of economic freedom, which didn't worry our forefathers because they never conceived of a corporate structure such as we now have. When I discuss this problem with educators and friends, nearly all of them agree that it is one which we must settle after the war, and which we should have had to settle anyway, even if war had not come.

Obviously, if that is the job we have on our hands, somebody has to do some clean-cut thinking on the subject. What I should like to see your journal do is to begin to consider the planks that must go into the platform of economic freedom, one by one, and to throw your columns open to a national debate on each plank. I should like to start the ball rolling by submitting the first plank, and here it is:

> The most fundamental of all concepts is our concept of man. In a democracy he must be esteemed an independent personality, an inviolable soul, equal to all other free men in inborn rights, though unequal in physical and intellectual talents. He must be considered the central and most important product of society. Institutions are created for his benefit and not man for the benefit of the institution.

C. T. HABEGGER

Berne, Ind., December 23

Murder and Reprisal

Dear Sirs: Whatever practical effect your editorial Murder of a People in the December 19 *Nation* might have had was largely nullified by your veto of the proposal "that our air force systematically raze German villages in reprisal"—the only proposal that, if adopted, might stay the hand of the ruthless murderer.

You say that you are against such reprisals because German villagers have "nothing" to do with the massacres in Poland, because the destruction of such villages would scarcely raise a shudder in Berlin, and, lastly, because vengeance raids in the name of the Jews would implant a long-lasting anti-Semitism among the survivors of such raids and their neighbors in surrounding towns.

Now as to the villagers' complete innocence, it is hard to see how in this total war civilians anywhere could be fully excused and separated from the doings of their armies. And as to Berlin scarcely shuddering at the extermination of German villages, should that be a fact, a few raids on Berlin itself could be added to the curriculum, these raids to be graded in duration and intensity according to the number of hostages then being executed by the Germans.

Finally, don't worry much about the new and longer-lasting German anti-Semitism. Aside from the fact that the Jew is somewhat fed up with the tolerance and good-will he has received in different qualities and quantities in foreign lands, and expects "on the day of liberation" to be permitted to rebuild Palestine on a larger scale, making it the biggest protector of the Jews and possibly of the persecuted non-Jew—aside from all that, there is no reason why the German people should not blame the reprisal raids on the savagery of their compatriots, as it is expected and meant they should do.

No one doubts that there must be some Germans who are against Hitler and all he stands for. Why not therefore believe these Germans also capable of declaring: " 'The death of these innocents is the price we must pay for' the scourge our compatriots helped to inflict on a confused and unguarded world"? AVRA PILZER

New York, January 6

Debating Renewal

Dear Sirs: The Nation has long been one of my favorite periodicals, but for some time lately I have debated renewing my subscription. This debate followed an editorial that impressed me adversely.

I have regarded *The Nation* as a sound liberal, one that generally represented my sentiments. I have depended on it for the truth which our conservative and reactionary press withholds or ignores. Its exposé of the Dies committee was a contribution that deserved the commendation of all true patriots.

The editorial in question dealt with the rider attached by Senator Lee to the teen-age draft bill. I have observed so much debauchery of our youths by liquor around the camps that I cannot understand your attitude. To say conditions under prohibition were worse is the verdict, as I see it, of those who do not know the facts.

I am tolerant of differences of opinion. But when one who poses as a liberal expresses his opinion in a way to indict the integrity of honest convictions it shakes my confidence in the sincerity of his liberalism.

W. E. HALBROOK

Little Rock, Ark., January 2

Services Not Wanted

Dear Sirs: Please make your editorial writers stop writing about the "knowledge and experience of the men and women who have risked their lives fighting Hitler within Europe," because that does not mean anything in this country. Make them reread the article of Alvarez del Vayo in the issue of December 5 in which he admits that nobody cares "to avail himself" of that knowledge and experience. People in office, he says, are "collaborating with all the half-fascists while ignoring or discarding altogether proved anti-fascists."

The writer of this letter is only a very unknown and probably unworthy European refugee. But there are plenty of once famous professors working as bus boys, noted editors doing errands, lawyers running elevators, and many others who feel as I do.

Do not get me wrong: I like to go the hard way; it is the more honest way in a world in which the really decent men find themselves in concentration camps or on the battle fronts. But don't speak any more about the valuable services we are able to render. We have read too many such articles.

WALTHER VICTOR

New York, December 24

Unjust Discrimination

Dear Sirs: Many local draft boards in various parts of the country are inducting into military service Chinese citizens whose dependent wives and children reside outside the United States solely by reason of the Chinese exclusion laws and not through choice. Other citizens with like dependents are deferred. This inequality of treatment constitutes an unjust discrimination against a group that is rendering loyal and unstinted aid to the cause of the United States and of the United Nations.

An undue hardship is further im-

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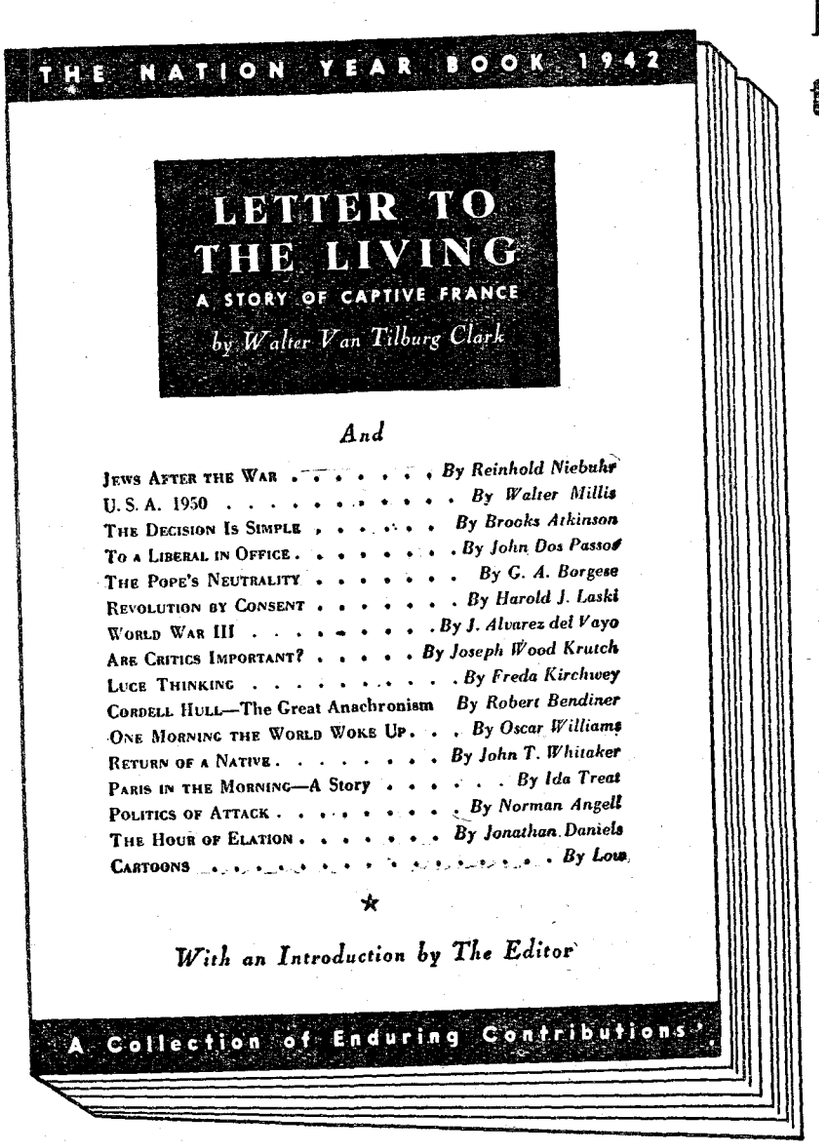
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posed upon the dependent wives and children of drafted Chinese by reason of the fact that the United States government cannot at this time transmit to China any soldier's allotment to his dependent family in that country. This inequitable arrangement terminates any assistance that these Chinese in America, as civilians, have managed to transmit through private channels to their dependent families in China, and thus increases the burden upon our Chinese ally and causes great suffering.

It is therefore important that fair-minded citizens urge Selective Service authorities to eliminate this unequal treatment of Chinese family men.

LIM A. HEAUM, Acting President,
Chinese American Citizens Alliance, Pittsburgh Branch

Pittsburgh, Pa., January 5

Union Work Is War Work

Dear Sirs: The Highlander Folk School has recently received urgent requests from unions for educational and research workers. The Southern director of a C. I. O. union has asked for someone to do such jobs as classifying wage rates, running a lending library, and teaching parliamentary law. The school has been asked to supply educational directors for New Orleans, Birmingham, Atlanta, Memphis, Knoxville, Louisville, and Cincinnati. There is also a demand for secretaries familiar with labor problems and for persons capable of preparing material for presentation to government agencies.

Our ten years' experience at Highlander has acquainted us with labor problems, and the success of our method of dealing with these problems is attested to by the demands referred to above. Many young people, realizing that union work is war work, are anxious to make their contribution but lack practical knowledge and contacts. A three months' residence seminar has been planned to bridge the gap.

The seminar will open on February 1. Basic material and methods will be learned from directed reading, discussion, practical work at the school and in the community, and conferences with labor and government officials. Afterward, there will be provided opportunities for first-hand experience in the field under the supervision of staff members, former students in official positions, and other key labor people who are cooperating with the school.

Students will be selected for the seminar on the basis of their background and interest in full-time work with unions. The total cost for room, board, and tuition is $25. Four hours' assigned work is required daily in the office, library, house, or on the farm. Highlander, located on a 200-acre mountain farm, is run cooperatively. Staff and students share in the work, and learn, sing, hike, square dance, and play volley ball together.

Men and women desiring to attend the seminar should enrol at once. Applications should include a statement of union or other group-work experience and additional qualifications.

MYLES HORTON, Chairman

Monteagle, Tenn., January 1

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